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RHETORICAL QUALITIES IN THE SPEECHES OF
WINSTON SPENCER CHURCHILL

by

WALTER JEROME BENESCH

B. A. Denver University, 1955

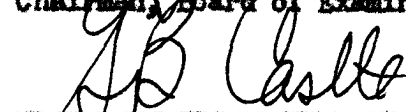
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for the degree of Master of Arts

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1956

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

I. INTRODUCTION

Winston Spencer Churchill, born in 1874, served during the Second World War in the important post of Prime Minister of Great Britain. As Prime Minister he was considered one of the greater orators of the twentieth century—an orator who delivered hundreds of speeches during his career. Unfortunately there have been few studies made of these many speeches and even these limited studies have been restricted to short periods of his life. At the time of the writing of this thesis there had been no examination of that section which was the highlight of his career, World War II. This study has tried to analyze the rhetorical techniques as they appeared in eleven of his War addresses.

Churchill's speeches helped to give to the British people the courage to fight on during the awful chaos and destruction wrought by the Nazi conquest of Europe and the German bombing of Britain. His addresses, delivered on varied occasions, called forth unity and dedication in the prosecution of the War. Their historical consequences, in part, belonged to the historian, but their intrinsic value as speeches—works of art—fell within the province of the rhetorician. With these objectives in mind the eleven speeches were considered as both historical markers and as works of artistic consequence.

II. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem

It was the purpose of this study to discover the rhetorical qualities in the speeches of Winston Spencer Churchill as shown by an analysis of eleven selected speeches delivered between the years 1940-1945.

Importance of the study

The importance of such a problem and study lay, in a certain sense, in the importance of the man being studied. As the leader of one of the greater Allied nations during the War his place in history became both significant and recognized. The speeches themselves were, like their author, intrinsic pieces of one of the more striking periods of human chronology. The importance of the study, then, rested on the consequence of the material being studied and its value as a section of the broader field of public address, past and present. Churchill certainly fitted into the Pantheon of mankind's orators and this study might have helped to make his place more clear.

Limitations of the study

The analysis itself has been limited to the areas of Invention, Arrangement, and Style. Examples of these three divisions and of the use to which they were put have been reported and recorded as parts of the study; however, questions of memory, delivery, psychology, and many other aspects of Churchill's public address have not been included and were not mentioned in this analysis. The study was built upon these limitations, but it tried to consider as thoroughly as possible those general areas which were included.

III. DEFINITION OF TERMS

There were no important terms requiring definition which were not explained in the examination of the criteria for evaluation. However, there was the broader term, Rhetoric, whose meaning necessitated further explanation in order that the analysis be more clearly understood.

Rhetoric. Rhetoricians have defined rhetoric with varying terminologies; however, an almost consistent theme has run through these definitions. To Aristotle rhetoric was the science of persuasion: "So let Rhetoric be defined as the faculty (power) of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."¹ Quintilian added another principle to the concept of effective speaking:

The definition which best suits its real character is that which makes rhetoric the science of speaking well. For this definition includes all the virtues of oratory and the character of the orator as well, since no man can speak well who is not good himself.²

In other words, Quintilian combined good speech and good character. Whately in 19th century England returned to the more objective and scientific definition of Aristotle:

In the present day, however, the province of Rhetoric, in the widest acception that would be reckoned admissible, comprehends all "Composition in Prose;" in the narrowest sense, it would be limited to "Persuasive Speaking."

We propose in the present article to adopt a middle course between these two extreme points; and to treat of Argumentative Composition generally, and exclusively; considering Rhetoric (in

¹Lane Cooper, The Rhetoric of Aristotle (New York: Appleton, Century, Crofts, Inc., 1932), p.7.

²H.E. Butler (trans.), The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), Vol. I, p. 315.

conformity with our original plan, and with the very just and philosophical view of Aristotle) as an off-shoot from Logic.³

A fourth definition was taken from the Winston Dictionary. This definition, similar to those of Aristotle and Whately, considered rhetoric as the effective use of language: "the branch of knowledge which deals with the correct, forceful, and elegant use of spoken or written language...."⁴

From these four sources it was concluded that rhetoric formed the study of effective communication, both oral and written.

IV. ORGANIZATION OF THE REMAINDER OF THE STUDY

Chapter II. The second chapter of the analysis included a survey of the literature utilized and available on both Churchill's speeches and his life. The division on literature also listed some of the historical background material available on the Second World War. An analysis and consideration was made of the other studies done on the Prime Minister's public address and the relative merits and limitations of these studies.

Chapter III. Chapter three contained the method of procedure which was followed in analyzing the speeches themselves. The first part of the chapter was devoted to a justification of the speeches selected for analysis. The second part of the chapter then dealt with the criteria used in their study.

Chapter IV. The fourth chapter contained the analysis of the

³Richard Whately, Rhetoric (London: Charles Griffin and Company, 1872), p. 3.

⁴The Winston Dictionary: College Edition (Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1946), p. 839.

eleven addresses as this analysis was applied according to the criteria previously decided upon.

Chapter V. Chapter five presented a summary of the study and the conclusions drawn from that study. It also contained recommendations for further study upon Churchill as a speaker and a political figure.

Bibliography. The bibliography of material cited throughout the thesis was placed after the conclusion of the fifth chapter. In it were listed the reference data for the footnotes and context of the paper.

Appendix. An appendix containing the manuscripts for the eleven speeches analyzed was included at the end of the thesis. It was on the basis provided by these manuscripts that the evaluation was made.

CHAPTER II

SURVEY OF THE LITERATURE

I. BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Biographies of Churchill were rather limited up until about 1949-1950. The reason for this was, of course, obvious. The man was still in public affairs and still making history, and any broad, all-inclusive biography would have required revision within a few years as he either retired or died. This did not imply that there were no biographical sketches which appeared in various newspapers, magazines, and other similar sources, for there were many such sketches. However, a good, definitive biography had not been undertaken. There existed a few limited studies of Churchill like that of Philip Guedalla's Mr. Churchill, published in 1942⁵ and Rene Kraus's Winston Churchill, published in 1940.⁶ It was obvious from the copyright dates on these two volumes that neither one of them included any comprehensive study of Churchill's War years, which were, in essence, the high point of his career. It was interesting to note that a search of the Montana State University library during the fall of 1955 disclosed only these two biographies and nothing else of more recent date.

After 1950, however, the biographical data available to the student had considerably increased. In addition to the conventional studies of Churchill, the Prime Minister himself had released some

⁵Philip Guedalla, Mr. Churchill (New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1942).

⁶Rene Kraus, Winston Churchill (New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1940).

primary source materials. In 1953 the final volume of his six volume history of The Second World War was completed and published by the Houghton Mifflin Company. The titles on these six volumes were: The Gathering Storm; Their Finest Hour; The Grand Alliance; The Hinge of Fate; Closing the Ring; and Triumph and Tragedy.⁷ In these six volumes a great deal of autobiographical material on the Prime Minister during the War period was presented.

Perhaps one of the best sources of biographical data on Churchill lay in the Speech Monographs for the years since the War, though again, only the more recent editions contained an extensive listing. The Monographs for 1952⁸ included no biographical references on Churchill, yet those from the following years had sizeable lists. From this fact could very probably have been drawn the conclusion that it was only from the year 1953 up to the present that biographies of Churchill began to appear in any number. Usually, of course, it would have been these later biographies that were the more valuable for they would have covered a much broader span of time in the Prime Minister's active political life. The following list of biographical data was taken from the Speech Monographs for the month of June, 1953-1955:

Speech Monograph; June, 1953.⁹

Broad, Charlie Lewis, Winston Churchill, 1874-1951. New York; Philosophical Library, 1951. pp. 611.

⁷Winston Churchill, The Second World War, 6 vols. (Boston; Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948-1953).

⁸Frederick W. Haberman, "A Bibliography of Rhetoric and Public Address for the Year 1951", Speech Monographs, XIX (June, 1952), 2.

⁹Ibid., XX (June 1953), 2.

Churchill, Randolph (ed.). In the Balance: Speeches 1949 and 1950. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. pp. 456.

Taylor, Robert Lewis. Winston Churchill: An Informal Study of Greatness. Garden City: Doubleday. pp. 433.

Speech Monographs; June, 1954.¹⁰

Churchill, Randolph (ed.). Stemming the Tide: Speeches 1951 and 1952. London: Cassell. pp. 379.

Cowles, Virginia. Winston Churchill: The Era and the Man. New York: Harper. pp. 378.

Eade, Charles (ed.). Churchill: By His Contemporaries. London: Hutchinson. pp. 328.

Speech Monographs; June, 1955.¹¹

Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer. A Churchill Reader: The Wit and Wisdom of Sir Winston Churchill. (Introduction by Colin R. Coote and P.D. Bunyan), Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. pp. 422.

Daily Mail. "Sir Winston S. Churchill: 80th Birthday Souvenir". London: Associated Newspapers. pp. 106.

Eade, Charles (ed.). War Speeches. 3 vols. London: Cassell, 1952.

Marchant, Sir James (ed.). Winston Spencer Churchill: Servant of Crown and Commonwealth. London: Cassell. pp. 172.

Ramsay, Michael. Churchill: The Man of the Century. Kent: Tunbridge Wells. (photocrom) pp. 31.

Stewart, Herbert Leslie. Winged Words: Sir Winston Churchill as Writer and Speaker. New York: Bourey and Gurl. pp. 114.

Willans, Geoffrey and Charles Roetter (comp.). The Wit of Winston Churchill. London: Parrish. pp. 106.

II. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In order to gain a perspective into the life and speeches of Churchill it was necessary to do some research into the Second World

¹⁰Ibid., XXI (June, 1954), 2.

¹¹Ibid., XXII (June, 1955), 2.

War, its origins and causes, etc. In the study of the War and Churchill's part in it, one of the best source materials was that which was provided by the Prime Minister himself in his six volume set on The Second World War which has been previously mentioned.

In addition to Churchill's primary source materials on the War, excellent background foundations were gained from three general survey histories of the "pre-conflict" and "conflict" events:

Berms, F. Lee. Europe Since 1914 In Its World Setting. New York: F.S. Crofts and Company, 1945. pp. 764.

Chambers, Frank P., and others. This Age of Conflict. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950. pp. 1013.

Haines, C. Grove and Ross J.S. Hoffman. The Origins and Background of the Second World War. New York: Oxford University Press, 1943. pp. 659.

These books were only a few of the many available histories of the War and to these could have been added the World's newspapers which gave day by day accounts from 1939 to 1945.

III. OTHER STUDIES ON WINSTON CHURCHILL

As in the case of earlier biographical material, studies of Churchill's public address, in terms of rhetorical analysis, were very limited. The Prime Minister was still speaking and writing up to within a very short distance of the present, which, of course, prohibited any comprehensive study of his entire life or his entire repertoire of speeches. Strangely enough, studies of particular periods of his life, e.g., his War period, were also limited or non-existent. At the time of Churchill's retirement there were some studies in process however.

The Speech Monographs, which have listed all of the Ph.D. and

M.A. dissertations and theses, in the areas of speech and public address, showed only approximately five studies of a rhetorical nature made on Churchill. A study was being conducted in 1955 by Austin J. Freeley, Northwestern University, which comprised a rhetorical analysis and comparison of the wartime speeches of Franklin Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. However, this analysis was not scheduled for completion until 1956 and therefore was not available.¹² Edward Donald Steele of Stanford in 1953 analyzed the "United States Addresses of Winston Churchill" in an M.A. thesis¹³ and Lawrence William Grosser at the University of Michigan in 1947 evaluated Churchill's Fulton, Missouri Speech, but this, of course, was a post-War address.¹⁴ Halbert Edison Gulley, 1944, undertook "A Study of Selected Speeches on Relations with Germany Delivered by Winston Spencer Churchill in the House of Commons, 1935-1938."¹⁵ This study was pre-War and so was not concerned with the War addresses themselves. Barnett Baskerville at the State University of Iowa conducted a similar study for his dissertation in 1948. His analysis covered the years 1932 to 1938—again pre-War.¹⁶

The above studies were the only ones done, of a rhetorical nature, on Churchill in the period 1944-1955. They were either not

¹²Ibid., Franklin H. Knower, "Graduate Theses—An Index of Graduate Work in Speech", XXII (June, 1955), 2.

¹³Ibid., XXI (June, 1954), 2.

¹⁴Ibid., XV (Research Annual, 1948), 2.

¹⁵Ibid., XII (Research Annual, 1945), 2.

¹⁶Ibid., XVI (September, 1949), 2.

concerned with his addresses during World War II or were so only in a very minor way. Therefore, there was no previous study which could have been used as foundation or relied upon for information for the analysis of the War Speeches.

Besides these theses and dissertations, there appeared in the April, 1942, Quarterly Journal of Speech, an article by Joseph W. Miller entitled "Winston Churchill, Spokesman for Democracy."¹⁷ A second article came out in the October, 1947, Journal, written by Halbert E. Gallely entitled "Churchill's Speech on the Munich Agreement."¹⁸ The second of these studies was pre-War and the first dealt with Churchill biographically in a seven page analysis and was restricted by time to the year 1942.

This study, as well as could be determined, was the first thesis in the field of speech to evaluate a group of Churchill's War addresses on the basis of their rhetorical qualities. All other evaluations either were outside the War period or touched only on the fringes. The one study, contrasting Churchill and Roosevelt, was incomplete.

¹⁷Table of Contents of the Quarterly Journal of Speech, 1915-1952; Speech Monographs, 1934-1952; The Speech Teacher, 1952 (1953), p.23.

¹⁸Ibid., p.30.

CHAPTER III

METHOD OF PROCEDURE

I. SELECTION OF SPEECHES

Churchill delivered enough speeches during the course of World War II to fill several good sized volumes and exhaust many pages of news print. To have made an attempt in a single thesis to analyze all of these speeches would have been to do either a very inadequate job on all of them or else to turn the project into a life time task. Therefore, in as much as it was impossible to consider them all, this thesis has broken down Churchill's War addresses into four areas: (1) Foreign policy; (2) Domestic policy; (3) Victory; (4) Speeches not dealing directly with the war effort. The task then became one of selecting the speech or speeches most representative of these four areas.

In as much as many of the same phrases and striking word patterns were frequently repeated by Churchill in later addresses, an attempt was made to select, whenever possible, those speeches which contained the original wording. However, the speeches were not chosen upon the basis of their adaptibility to rhetorical analysis. With this program in mind the four areas were then sub-divided into their several component parts which were as follows (the speeches used to represent these areas stand beside their classification);

(1) Foreign policy.

Russia - "The Fourth Climacteric"

U.S. - "Put Your Confidence in 1945"

Combined Russian, English, and American alliance -
 "Call for a Three-Power Talk"

(2) Domestic policy.

National defense	- "Dunkirk" and "Their Finest Hour"
Politics	- "Prime Minister"
Production	- "Coal and War" and "Women of Britain"
Dedication	- "Victory as a Spur"

(3) Victory. "Victory over Europe Broadcast"

(4) Non-War effort. "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain"

Within these eleven speeches were found a great many of the phrases that were later to become famous, for these eleven addresses were selected on a double basis for analysis: first, as representatives of one of the four areas, and second, as the end products of the major events of the War. In chronological order they dealt with: (1) Churchill's appointment as Prime Minister ("Prime Minister"); (2) Fall of France ("Dunkirk"); (3) The threat of invasion during the early months of the War ("Their Finest Hour"); (4) The death of Churchill's predecessor as Prime Minister and leader of the Conservative Party ("Tribute to Neville Chamberlain"); (5) The question of American aid ("Put Your Confidence in Us"); (6) Invasion of Russia by Germany ("Fourth Climacteric"); (7) The problem of domestic coal and steel production ("Coal and War"); (8) The turning point in the War ("Victory as a Spur"); (9) The question of a Three-Power conference on the conduct of the War and the peace ("Call for a Three-Power Talk"); (10) The essential part of women in the War effort ("Women of Britain"); (11) Victory over Europe ("Victory over Europe Broadcast").

An analysis of the historical events which surrounded each speech showed its importance as a mile stone in the progress of the War. The following examination was made of the background of each

speech in its chronological order and this examination contained both the history of the address and its significance.

Prime Minister

On May 13, 1940 Winston Churchill appeared before the House of Commons to deliver his first statement of policy speech as Prime Minister. Three days earlier Neville Chamberlain had resigned his post and Churchill had assumed the task of forming a coalition government. By May 13 the government was formed and Churchill presented its objectives to the House of Commons. Calling for a vote of confidence, he received the House's unanimous approval.

This, in effect, was the concise story of events which called forth Churchill's famous statement of policy speech, but behind it lay the longer and more involved picture of the failure of the Government under Chamberlain and the factors which made Churchill Prime Minister. In looking for the beginning of the end of the Chamberlain Government it was inevitable that a consideration of national policy be undertaken. So it was that the examination of events moved back to an earlier period. Chamberlain stated after Munich that the goal he sought to establish was "peace in our time" and it became clear that his Government would, to a great degree, rise or fall on the attainment or failure to attain that peace. If harmony in Europe had resulted from Munich or from current Anglo-German relations, then it was possible that Chamberlain would have been credited with the accomplishment of his ends, but, by the same sign, if, or since these policies did not result in peace, Chamberlain could be credited only with having failed.

As the world waited and watched in silence, the first waves of

the Luftwaffe crossed over the Polish frontiers at break of dawn on September 1, 1939. The German invasion forces were disposed in two army groups and numbered in the aggregate 56 divisions and 9 armored divisions, with a first-line air strength of 1,500 planes—some 1,000,000 men in all. The campaign was virtually completed in a week and Warsaw surrendered on September 27.¹⁹ Poland was then split between Russia and Germany and its existence as a free and independent state was brought to a close. Following the invasion of Poland the British Government, along with that of France, declared war on Germany as they were treaty bound to do. Chamberlain, who had earlier said, "War wins nothing, cures nothing, ends nothing.... In war there are not winners, but all are losers..."²⁰ prepared his nation for war.

The Chamberlain Government still remained relatively stable as the nation's attention was directed to the building and maintenance of an expeditionary force on the continent. Suddenly, in the pre-dawn darkness on the morning of April 9, 1940, the German forces again moved into aggressive action. This time Norway and Denmark were the targets and within a few days both had succumbed to the invading armies and the confusion and chaos of internal collapse.

After the violation of Norway and Denmark a great deal of intense criticism began to rain down upon the heads of the existing British Government. And so, in the words of Churchill himself, First

¹⁹Frank P. Chambers, Christina P. Harris, Charles C. Bayley, This Age of Conflict (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1950), p. 644.

²⁰ibid., p. 568.

Lord of the Admiralty:

The many disappointments and disasters of the brief campaign in Norway caused profound perturbation at home, and the currents of passion mounted even in the breasts of some of those who had been most slothful and purblind in the years before the war. The Opposition asked for a debate on the war situation, and this was arranged for May 7. The House was filled with Members in a high state of irritation and distress. Mr. Chamberlain's opening statement did not stem the hostile tide. He was mockingly interrupted and reminded of his speech of April 4, when in quite another connection he had incautiously said, "Hitler missed the bus."....One speaker after another from both sides of the House attacked the Government and especially its chief with unusual bitterness and vehemence, and found themselves sustained by growing applause from all quarters.... Mr. Amery quoted amid ringing cheers Cromwell's imperious words to the Long Parliament; "You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go!" These were terrible words coming from a friend and colleague of many years, a fellow Birmingham Member, and a Privy Counsellor of distinction and experience....

On the second day, May 8, the debate, although continuing upon an adjournment motion, assumed the character of a vote of censure, and Mr. Herbert Morrison, in the name of the Opposition, declared their intention to have a vote. The Prime Minister rose again, accepted the challenge...²¹

The storm had begun and it must have appeared at this moment that the end of the Chamberlain Government was merely a matter of time. Lloyd George, speaking the sentiments of many, turned the bitterness of his attack upon the Prime Minister and asked for the supreme sacrifice which was his to make for the good of the nation;

It is not a question of who are the Prime Minister's friends. It is a far bigger issue. He has appealed for sacrifice. The nation is prepared for every sacrifice so long as it has leadership, so long as the Government show clearly that those who are leading it are doing their best.... I say solemnly that the Prime Minister should give an example of sacrifice, because there

²¹Winston S. Churchill, The Gathering Storm (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), pp. 658-659.

is nothing which can contribute more to victory in this war than that he should sacrifice the seals of his office.²²

The session, begun on May 7th, lasted longer than had originally been anticipated and it lived to see the fall of still more of Europe and the fall of the Government itself. The world was stunned on the morning of May 10, 1940, to hear over its radios and read in its newspapers that the Nazi armies had invaded Holland and Belgium in another surprise declaration of aggressive war. Americans were perhaps equally surprised to read in the New York Times for Saturday, May 11, 1940, the headlines, DUTCH AND BELGIANS RESIST NAZI DRIVE; ALLIED FORCES MARCH IN TO DO BATTLE; CHAMBERLAIN RESIGNS, CHURCHILL PREMIER, and the story which followed:

...that Mr. Chamberlain would have to relinquish his high office became apparent last night when Clement R. Attlee and Arthur Greenwood, the Opposition Labor leaders, informed him to his face that they would not consent to serve in a Cabinet that he headed. Thus they provided the cue for the undecided Liberals and Conservatives who were critical of the government.²³

Upon receipt of the news of the invasion Chamberlain, still Prime Minister, Lord Halifax and Churchill met at 11:00 A.M., May 10, in the Downing Street governmental headquarters to discuss the formation of a national government. As Churchill pointed out, the undertaking was first suggested to Lord Halifax, but when he declined, it was then offered to Churchill and he accepted.²⁴ On May 13, Churchill gave to the House of Commons his statement of policy as new Prime Minister and declared to the British people

²²Ibid., pp. 659-660. ²³New York Times, May 11, 1940, p.1.

²⁴Churchill, The Gathering Storm, pp. 664-665.

that he could offer them nothing but "blood, toil, tears, and sweat."

Dunkirk

Perhaps never has the British Empire faced a darker moment than that which confronted it on the 4th of June, 1940. Britain had saved most of the expeditionary force which had been sent to aid France on the Continent, but this salvation of an army had also heralded the loss of the Battle of Europe for the foreseeable future. This was the evacuation at Dunkirk and on this day England's Prime Minister of less than a month rose in the House of Commons and called his people to a renewed dedication to carry the war to its finish, to defend their Island, whatever the cost might be, to struggle with the enemy "on the seas and oceans and in the air, to fight him on the beaches, on the landing grounds and in the streets of England."

By June of 1940, Norway, Denmark, Poland, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, and much of France had fallen and it looked like the invasion of England was imminent. After the fall of the Chamberlain Government on May 10, Churchill had stepped in to play his role in a scene that was growing darker and he found that one of his first tasks was to make possible the retreat of the British Expeditionary Force back to England.

Ever since the 20th May, 1940 the gathering of shipping and small craft had been proceeding under the control of Admiral Ramsay, who commanded at Dover. On the evening of the 26th (6:57 P.M.) an Admiralty signal put "Operation Dynamo into play, and the first troops were brought home that night. After the loss of Boulogne and Calais only the remains of the port of Dunkirk and the open beaches next to the Belgian frontier were in our hands. At this time it was thought that the most we could

rescue was about 45,000 men in two days. Early the next morning, May 27, emergency measures were taken to find additional small craft "for a special requirement." This was no less than the full evacuation of the British Expeditionary Force.²⁵

This struggle had been rendered doubly difficult by the surrender of the Belgian Army which covered the northern flank of the Allied forces in Belgium. On May 28 King Leopold ordered his army to cease fighting and signed an unconditional surrender. "The collapse of Belgian resistance exposed the left flank of the Anglo-French forces in Belgium and made desperate their efforts to withdraw through Dunkirk before their annihilation."²⁶

On Tuesday, May 28, Churchill attended a short service of intercession and prayer in Westminster Abbey and the following was his own reaction during that service:

The English are loth to expose their feelings, but in my stall in the choir I could feel the pent-up, passionate emotion, and also the fear of the congregation, not of death or wounds or material loss, but of defeat and the final ruin of Britain.²⁷

Perhaps the English people had reason to fear, for even as the evacuation and war went on around Dunkirk, Italy prepared for a surprise blow at crumbling France from the south and the German Army moved on to complete its march into Paris.

It was in this atmosphere of despair and defeatism, of tragedy and loss that Parliament was convened on June 4, 1940. And it was in this same atmosphere that Britain's Prime Minister praised his people for their help in moving the troops from France to England

²⁵Winston S. Churchill, Their Finest Hour (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949), pp. 100-101.

²⁶F. Lee Bennis, Europe Since 1914 (New York: F.S. Crofts and Company, 1945), pp. 515-516.

and commended the Royal Air Force for its remarkable defense of the beaches during the evacuation. In this cloud of pessimism he said;

We shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and liberation of the old.²⁸

Their Finest Hour

The statesman has often asked himself what he should tell his people when the nation stands at a point of crisis. Could a leader afford to let his followers know just how bad a given situation was and, if he did paint the situation as it existed, how could he inspire the people to even greater efforts in spite of failure and desperation? In the speech given after the evacuation of Dunkirk, Churchill tried to fulfil both these obligations when he voiced his country's determination to fight on and expressed his assurance that its cause must ultimately triumph. Brief excerpts which were cited from that speech in another passage have given some idea of the word choice and the emotional build up which he used to accomplish these ends. However, dramatic and great as his speech at the fall of Dunkirk was, the one which he gave to the British Empire on the 18th of June 1940, was perhaps even greater.

1940 was a dark year for the Allied nations; it was the year when Britain was not sure but that she might have to wage the war alone for a considerable length of time. It was during 1940 that German

²⁸Winston S. Churchill, Blood, Sweat, and Tears (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1941), p. 297.

invasion seemed most probable and hindrances to it least in evidence. By June, France was fairly well finished and on the 12th of that month the Germans entered Paris. Two days before the entrance of the Germans into Paris Italy had declared war on France and sought to move its armies into that nation from the south. With pressure pushing in from two places at once, the capital abandoned and the armies in retreat the French Government fell and Prime Minister Reynaud resigned giving Marshal Petain the duty of forming a new cabinet. Shortly thereafter the French sued for peace—June 17, 1940.

The implications of the fall of France were most serious indeed for Great Britain. As C. Grove Haines pointed out:

For Great Britain the fall of France was all but disastrous. She had lost the aid of her only substantial ally. Her problem of maintaining the blockade of Germany was enormously increased; her supremacy on the seas menaced; the Mediterranean life-line was made hazardous by the absence of French naval aid and still more by French colonies, which were not now reliable; shipping around the British Isles was exposed to the worst dangers in the nation's history because of the proximity of German air-fields and the numerous hiding places for submarines near by; the Channel passage was not tenable; and worst of all the British Isles were exposed to land invasion and air attack from many quarters.²⁹

Tribute to Neville Chamberlain

On the 9th of November, 1940, Neville Chamberlain died after many months of illness. He had been the leader of the famous "peace in our time" movement in the late 1930's and then when war had come he had led the British Government until it became clear that his

²⁹C. Grove Haines and Ross J.S. Hoffman, The Origins and Background of the Second World War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943), p. 582.

resignation would be essential to the close co-operation of the various parties which comprised the existing Government. The background of the struggle and resignation was covered in the discussion of Churchill's "Prime Minister" speech earlier in the paper. The War was then over a year old and its demands filled most of the Government's time, yet Churchill and the nation paused for a moment on November 12, 1940, to forget the immediate pressures of the conflict and to pay their respects to a great statesman who had done all he could to give his world peace.

Put Your Confidence in Us

Finally the bleak days of the year 1940 merged into the distance and 1941 picked up the terrible tale of tragedy and continued its telling. The Germans were in tighter control on the continent than ever before and the War was raging fiercely in the Mediterranean area. The "Battle of Britain" was underway and the Luftwaffe carried on almost nightly bombing raids against key English industrial centres.

...In August, 1940, the Germans declared that the "preliminaries" to the battle of Britain were over and announced that "systematic destruction" would soon start. Beginning in September the Nazi bombing attacks were greatly increased, and, though other parts of Britain were not wholly neglected, special efforts were made to destroy or "erase" London. German bombers, directed personally from an airdrome in France by Marshall Göring, unleashed furious attacks upon the British capital. Gradually the Germans extended their attacks, dropping incendiary as well as explosive bombs.³⁰

Rommel's Afrika Korps was very effectively prosecuting the African war while the British and Free French sought, with little success

³⁰ Berns, op. cit., p. 532.

to check him.

However, the resources of the overseas Dominions were beginning to move into the conflict and England's Army steadily expanded in terms of men and equipment. Perhaps one of the most significant events of early 1941, at least as far as long range influence was concerned, was the increasing of American aid, monetary and military, to Britain. More and more Americans were coming to realize that if Hitler won the struggle for control of Europe the United States would be in very serious danger. The exchange of diplomatic notes between the Prime Minister and the President was very friendly and on January 10, 1941, Harry Hopkins called at No. 10 Downing Street with a message for the head of the British Government from the head of the American Government. Churchill himself quoted Hopkins as having said,

The President is determined that we shall win the war together. Make no mistake about it. He has sent me here to tell you that at all costs and by all means he will carry you through, no matter what happens to him—there is nothing that he will not do so far as he has the human power.³¹

On January 27, the Prime Minister received another visitor of great importance from the United States. This time it was Wendell Willkie who brought with him a good will message from the President and a verse from Longfellow in the President's own hand;

Sail on, O Ship of State;
Sail on, O Union strong and great;
Humanity with all its fears,

³¹Winston S. Churchill, The Grand Alliance (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), p. 22.

With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate! ³²

Churchill, over a national broadcast on the 9th of February, reviewed for his people the war situation in the Mediterranean and in Africa and praised them for their part in it. Then he read the verse from Longfellow's "Building of the Ship" which Roosevelt had sent him by way of Willkie. When he was through with his speech he asked the nation:

What is the answer that I shall give, in your name, to this great man, the thrice-chosen head of a nation of a hundred and thirty millions? Here is the answer which I will give to President Roosevelt: Put your confidence in us. Give us your faith and your blessing, and, under Providence, all will be well.

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job. ³³

The Fourth Climacteric

As the tensions developed in Europe during 1939, 1940, and 1941, one of the big, undecided questions was that which dealt with the part that Russia would assume in the conflict. Russia stood in a very important strategical position; controlling German expansion to the East she also provided a potential military threat to German solidarity in the West, thus her course of action was considered with a great deal of anxiety by both sides. France, England, and Germany were all three striving for a mutual understanding with Stalin and on July 31, 1939, Chamberlain announced in Parliament that

³²ibid., p. 26.

³³Churchill, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p. 462.

a military mission was on its way to Moscow to try to work out a military agreement with the Russians. However, British negotiations with Russia on this basis ceased on August 21 when the "imminence of a Soviet-German agreement was made public."³⁴

The emergence of a Soviet-German non-aggression pact was the end of the first phase of relations between the two countries. The second phase began with the Nazi invasion of Poland, September 1, 1939. "On September 17, by way of complete surprise, Soviet troops moved in from the rear to 'protect' the Ukrainians and White Russians of eastern Poland."³⁵ The reason for this move on the part of the Russian forces was reported to have been the fear of the Soviet Government that the German Army would attack the Russian frontiers next. A division of Poland was arranged between Germany and Russia and a rather unsteady peace ensued. Within a matter of months both sides were preparing for war while at the same time trying to maintain an outward contact.

In June the weak peace collapsed and the break came between Germany and Russia. It was, however, to a degree, a surprise to neither side; in the words of Frank P. Chambers;

Detailed preparations for war had begun on both sides in the autumn of 1940. The Russians constructed a deep belt of strong points, the so-called Stalin line, along their frontiers, thus converting their new territorial acquisitions in the Baltic, Poland, and Rumania into a great "Glacis" facing Germany. Hitler's directive, "Case Barbarossa," was ready...in December.... On June 22, 1941, without ultimatum or declaration of war, the German attack began along the entire Soviet frontier.³⁶

³⁴Haines, op. cit., pp. 532-533. ³⁵Ibid., p. 544.

³⁶Chambers, op. cit., p. 673.

The European conflict had expanded and the armies of Free France and Great Britain were joined by those of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics as they battled with the German aggressor. The attitude of the British Government, as represented by Churchill, toward the invasion of Russia was one of sympathy. An interesting example illustrated this: Churchill, questioned by his private secretary as to his reaction to the Russian question, replied: "I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby. If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons."³⁷ The night of June 22, 1941 at 9:00 P.M., Churchill spoke over the B.B.C. and told the listening English-speaking world that:

...the Russian danger is...our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe. Let us learn the lessons already taught by such cruel experience. Let us redouble our exertions, and strike with united strength while life and power remain.³⁸

Coal and War

By the end of 1942 the war was truly "world wide;" the New York Times for Monday, October 26, 1942, carried the following headlines, PLANES BLAST AXIS LINE IN EGYPT; BRITISH TORPEDO 12 ITALIAN SHIPS; GUADALCANAL REPELS 5 THRUSTS, on Thursday the Times told Americans, GUADALCANAL ISLAND BATTLE SUBSIDES; ENEMY LOSSES HEAVY RELATIVE TO OURS; BRITISH TANKS WIN IN AFRICAN CLASH.³⁹ The "world wide" war was beginning to brighten. The British had proved

³⁷Churchill, The Grand Alliance, p. 370. ³⁸ibid., p. 373.

³⁹New York Times, October 26, 29, 1942, p.1.

themselves superior to the Italian navy and British tanks had experienced the taste of victory in Africa.

At home, however, there was no let up in the rationing as the economy strained to its utmost to meet increased war time demand. And in no area was this demand more serious than it was in the coal mines for upon their output quotas depended steel and fuel for the nation at war. In an effort to encourage even greater efforts Churchill spoke to the Conference of Delegates of Coal-Owners and Miners in Westminster Central Hall on October 31, 1942.⁴⁰ He talked with the miners about the war effort and the part that British forces were playing in its progress. When he had finished his speech he closed, as he so often did, with a challenge to the miners to give their all, more than their all, toward that final victory;

...some day, when children ask "What did you do to win this inheritance for us, and to make our name so respected among men?" one will say: "I was a fighter pilot"; another will say: "I was in the Submarine Service"; another "I marched with the Eighth Army"; a fourth will say: "None of you could have lived without the convoys and the Merchant Seamen"; and you in your turn will say, with equal pride and with equal right: "We cut the coal."⁴¹

Victory as a Spur

Thanks to the miners, the Home Guard, the Military and the Allies, as the year 1942 closed it finally looked as though the tide had turned in the world conflict. The United States was now fully at war and American and British bombers were carrying ever greater

⁴⁰Winston S. Churchill, The End of the Beginning (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1943) p. xiii.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 261.

loads of bombs to be dropped on key German industrial centres. Eleven months earlier, on the first day of the new year, 1942, twenty-six nations had signed the Declaration of Washington and had committed themselves to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and in so doing had agreed to sign no separate peace with the enemy until the war was successfully ended.⁴² The R.A.F. on the night of the 30th of May had carried out its first 1,000 plane raid, with Cologne as the objective and this raid was followed up with others against other German industrial centres.⁴³

In Africa early November saw Rommel and the German forces in retreat after the disastrous Battle of Alamein;

Many thousands of men from six Italian divisions were left stranded in the desert, with little food or water, and no future but to be rounded up into prison camps.... According to their own records the German armored divisions which had started the battle with two hundred and forty serviceable tanks, on November 5 mustered only thirty-eight.⁴⁴

And so it was that though the Axis powers still were virtually the masters of most of Europe the edges were beginning to give and at last it looked like, as Churchill put it, "The end of the beginning." The ensuing months at Stalingrad, in Italy, and in Africa were to bear out this prediction.

But 1942 was not a year of great victories and bright prospects. It was a year with the Japanese in control of Malaya, Burma, the

⁴²Haines, op. cit., p. 641.

⁴³Chambers, op. cit., p. 763.

⁴⁴Winston S. Churchill, Hinge of Fate (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1950), p. 600.

Phillipines and thousands of square miles of other territories in the Far East; it saw Germany launching a new offensive against Russia which swept through the very gates of Stalingrad before it was halted. An invasion of Europe was suggested by the Allies and then dropped as impractical for the time being.

So it was that with a job still to be done and a few scraps of victory under his arm Churchill broadcast to the world on November 29, 1942, two days after the Battle of Alamein. And to the world he brought hope, but hope only of "victory as a Spur." Quoting from Kipling, he said:

If you can dream--and not make dreams your master;

If you can think--and not make thoughts your aim;

If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster

And treat these two impostors just the same--

...Do not let us be led away by any fair seeming appearances of fortune; let us rather put our trust in those deep, slow-moving tides that have borne us thus far already, and will surely bear us forward, if we know how to use them, until we reach the harbour where we would be.⁴⁵

Thus he closed the year 1942 which had brought both "triumph and disaster." Then he looked over into tomorrow, telling his listeners:

The dawn of 1943 will soon loom red before us, and we must brace ourselves to cope with the trials and problems of what must be a stern and terrible year. We do so with the assurance of ever-growing strength, and we do so as a nation with a strong will, a bold heart and a good conscience.⁴⁶

Call for a Three-Power Talk

By the end of August, 1943, it had become more obvious that the cause of the Axis Powers was a lost one. The Germans had been

⁴⁵Churchill, End of the Beginning, p.301. ⁴⁶Ibid., p.303.

halted at Stalingrad in 1942 and now they were surrounded and defeated by the great Russian pincer movement. The loss of men, equipment, and drive on the Russian frontier seriously weakened German strength and morale. Chambers listed the losses at the time that Paulus surrendered the German 6th Army and, to a degree, they give the cost of the Russian campaign to the Nazis. 137,000 men out of the original 300,000 who were surrounded surrendered, another 300,000 casualties were accounted for by the actions in the Caucasus and on the Don.

Since September 1942 the Germans had lost a fifth of their total strength on the Eastern front. The entire German position in southern Russia was momentarily at the point of collapse.... From this moment the Red Army never looked back. Except for local halts and reverses it maintained the initiative, and its progress westward, if expensive, was steady and continuous.⁴⁷

On May 13 "the last Axis units were rounded up in their refuges on Cape Bon" so ending, in point of immediate significance, the African war.⁴⁸

In early July the Allies invaded Sicily and opened up a campaign of steady bombing in the industrial cities of Italy itself. July 18 saw the beginning of the bombing of the city of Rome; this was an event which carried with it terrific morale, military, and political repercussions. Germany, already hard pressed, was unable to send more assistance to its Italian ally and the fate of Italy became certain. On July 25 Mussolini was dismissed by the Italian King and the Fascist Party was formally dissolved.⁴⁹ Though Italy

⁴⁷Chambers, op.cit., p.303. ⁴⁸Ibid., p.751.

⁴⁹Bennis, op.cit., pp.590-91.

continued in the war effort after Mussolini's fall it was with little significance.

The bombing of continental industrial areas increased in severity, the Allies were pushing in from the south and the Russians from the north east and the "end of the beginning" became the "beginning of the end." Now it was that co-operation among the Big Three became most essential if the war were to be hastened to a successful conclusion. Roosevelt and Churchill had held a very important conference in January of 1943 at Casablanca; Churchill and Stalin had conferred in Moscow in August of 1942 and now the time seemed ripe for the meeting of all three men in order to make the great decisions which were needed by the war and by the possible peace which might follow. August 19 was the opening date of the 1943 late summer conference between President and Prime Minister in Quebec where the chief topics of consideration were a proposed invasion of Europe, the question of Italian surrender, if and when Italy gave up, and the dispersal of military strength in the Far East.⁵⁰ After the conclusion of the conference itself Churchill broadcast to the world from Quebec. At that time he reviewed the accomplishments of the Allied forces during the first years of conflict and then he urgently asked for a three-power conference at the earliest possible date.

...nothing is nearer to the wishes of President Roosevelt and myself than to have a threefold meeting with Marshall Stalin.

.....

⁵⁰Winston S. Churchill, Closing the Ring (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1951), pp. 84, 85, 86.

It would be a very great advantage to us all and indeed to the whole free world, if a unity of thought and decision upon practical measures for the longer future, as well as upon strategic problems, could be reached between the three great opponents of the Hitlerite tyranny.⁵¹

Women of Britain

The people of the United States discovered later in the war what the British had found out over a year earlier, that men were needed to fill the ranks on the front lines and that their places would have to be filled by women. The women of Britain had been responsible for a great deal of the success in the various fields of war production and home defense as they occupied jobs that were assigned to their men folk in peace time. On September 29, 1943, Churchill addressed a group of these women who had come together at a national convention. He thanked them for their efforts and urged them to produce even more.

Victory Speech

2:41 A.M.—May 7, 1945—Germany signed an unconditional surrender. So ended the monster's rampage on the European continent. So ended part of that great world conflict which had cost so much in "blood, toil, tears, and sweat." But the war machine had not been halted, for Japan, though weakened, fought on. Much had changed and much was gone. The Normandy Invasion had succeeded, Italy had fallen and France was liberated, Franklin Roosevelt died on April 12, less than a month before the German surrender. Now storm clouds were rising in the East as friction increased between Russia and the other Allies. And as trouble over the Polish

⁵¹Winston S. Churchill, Onwards to Victory (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1944) pp. 226-227.

boundaries grew in intensity it became more and more apparent that an end to the War with Germany would not bring peace or at least an easy peace. The three leaders had met and won the War, would they now "lose the peace?"

On May 13th of the momentous year 1945, Churchill talked with the nation about its victory. It was an inspiring speech bringing in much that was glorious in the English past and much that would be glorious in the English future, but it also contained a note of warning:

On the continent of Europe we have yet to make sure that the simple and honourable purposes for which we entered the war are not brushed aside or overlooked in the months following our success, and that the words "freedom", "democracy", and "liberation" are not distorted from their true meaning as we have understood them. There would be little use in punishing the Hitlerites for their crimes if law and justice did not rule, and if totalitarian or police Governments were to take the place of the German invaders.⁵²

One war was half won but there was still the other half of that conflict to be decided and a peace to be made secure. To this end Churchill declared to the world on May 13, 1945, "I should be unworthy of your confidence and generosity if I did not still cry: Forward, unflinching, unswerving, indomitable, till the whole task is done and the whole world is safe and clean."⁵³

II. SELECTION OF CRITERIA FOR THE ANALYSIS

The examination of criteria for evaluation of Churchill's

⁵²Winston S. Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1953), p. 773.

⁵³Ibid., p. 773.

eleven speeches proceeded in the order in which these criteria appeared and were applied. The first step was the analysis of Invention, then Arrangement, and finally Style. These three major areas and their partitions were synthesized from the writings of five of the leading rhetoricians of the western tradition. These rhetoricians included: Aristotle, Quintilian, Whately, Adams, and Brigrance. This group of men was selected as representative of three great periods in the development of rhetoric, that is, the ancient, the early modern, and the modern; all of them were undoubtedly the outstanding living rhetoricians of their times. Aristotle was Greek, Quintilian a Roman Spaniard, Whately an early 19th century Englishman, Adams an early 19th century American, and Brigrance a living, contemporary American.

As for rhetoric itself, Quintilian early pointed out that it was an art: "...I desired to make it clear that rhetoric is the science of speaking well, that it is useful, and further that it is an art and a virtue."⁵⁴ This theory was basic to the other rhetoricians as well. Thus the analysis was primarily concerned with the application of certain artistic principles to a group of speeches delivered by Britain's Prime Minister during World War II. Quintilian divided the principles of this art into three groups: "...every speech is composed of matter and words, and that as regards matter we must study invention, as regards words, style,

⁵⁴Butler, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 179.

and as regards both, arrangement..."⁵⁵ Quintilian was building upon foundations which Aristotle had laid down at an earlier period; "...when the practiced and spontaneous speaker gain their end, it is possible to investigate the cause of their success; and such an inquiry, we shall all admit, performs the function of an art."⁵⁶ Adams at a later date likewise suggested that rhetoric was an art that could be broken down into sets of rules. Among Adams' divisions were Invention, Disposition--or arrangement---and Elocution---"application of proper words and sentences to invention," i.e., style.⁵⁷

Under each one of these three major artistic groupings were their various components; methods of reasoning, types or arrangement, and kinds of style. It was necessary for the purposes of a clear evaluation to take each one of these sub-divisions separately and examine it in terms of the works of the five rhetoricians whose criteria were used.

Invention

The first field of analysis was that of Invention and its three sub-divisions: Logos, Ethos, and Pathos. Quintilian showed agreement with Aristotle on this division of Invention when he said;

To these proofs some authorities would add those which they call pathetic or emotional. Aristotle indeed holds that the strongest argument in support of a speaker is that he is a good man. This no doubt is the best support, but to seem good is

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 179. ⁵⁶Cooper, op. cit., p.1.

⁵⁷Ralph Y. McGinnis, "An Outline of Lectures On Rhetoric by John Quincy Adams" (Montana State University Speech Department, 1955), p.3.

also of value, though the semblance is but a bad second to the reality.⁵⁸

Logos, non-artistic proof. Logos or argument, involved both non-artistic and artistic methods of proof. Aristotle pointed this out:

Proofs are of two kinds, artistic and non-artistic.... By "non-artistic" proofs are meant all such as are not supplied by our own efforts, but existed beforehand, such as witnesses, admissions under torture, written contracts, and the like. By "artistic" proofs...are meant those that may be furnished by the method of Rhetoric through our own efforts. The first sort have only to be used; the second have to be found.⁵⁹

Quintilian essentially agreed with Aristotle but listed these two types of logos under different titles:

To begin with it may be noted that the division laid down by Aristotle has met with almost universal approval. It is to the effect that there are some proofs adopted by the orator which lie outside the art of speaking, and others which he himself deduces or, if I may use the term, begets out of his case. The former therefore have been styled...inartificial proofs, the latter...artificial. To the first class belong decisions of previous courts, rumours, evidence extracted by torture, documents, oaths, and witnesses...⁶⁰

The question of the divisions underlying "artistic" and "non-artistic" changed in some respects in terms of classification, but the original meanings were preserved; for example, no longer was evidence gained by torture, usually, considered valid. The two larger sub-divisions of logos which Aristotle had first advanced were reiterated by Adams who used Quintilian's terms along with two of his own. Adams called these proofs "artificial" and "inartificial", and "external" and "internal".⁶¹

⁵⁸Butler, op.cit., Vol. II, p.303. ⁵⁹Cooper, op.cit., p.8.

⁶⁰Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.157.

⁶¹Lloyd S. Jones, "Lectures on Rhetoric by John Quincy Adams" (Denver University Speech Department, 1955), p.1.

The next step in the examination of criteria was to move from the general, "non-artistic" and "artistic", to the specific proofs which comprised these two divisions. Group one, that of "non-artistic" proofs, was composed of four types of argument. These four arguments were from evidence, authority, sign, and assumption. Aristotle talked of evidence, authority, and assumption when he said: "...we must next take a cursory view of the means of persuasion called 'non-artistic'.... They are of five sorts: laws, witnesses, contracts, tortures, the oath."⁶² Laws and contracts would have been classified as evidence, witnesses as authority, and the oath as assumption. Quintillian's separation was more elaborate:

Well, then, to give a brief summary of the whole question, arguments are drawn from persons, causes, place and time (which latter we have divided into preceding, contemporary and subsequent), from resources (under which we include instruments), from manner (that is how a thing has been done), from definition, genus, species, difference, property, elimination, division, beginnings, increase, consumption, likes, unlikes, contradictions, consequences, efficient, effects, results, and comparison, which is subdivided into several species.

I think I should also add that arguments are drawn not merely from admitted facts, but from fictitious suppositions...and that this latter type of argument falls into all the same divisions as those which I have mentioned above.⁶³

Whately discussed the same areas and laid emphasis on that of "sign":

By "sign,"...is meant a species of argument of which the analysis is as follows: As far as any circumstance is, what may be called, a Condition of the existence of a certain effect or phenomenon, so far it may be inferred from the existence of that Effect, if it be a Condition absolutely essential, the Argument is, of course, demonstrative; and the probability is the stronger in proportion as we approach to that case.⁶⁴

⁶²Cooper, op.cit., p. 80.

⁶³Butler, op.cit., Vol. II, p. 253.

⁶⁴Whately, op.cit., p. 18.

Whately, Adams, and Brigrance considered many of the various fields of "non-artistic" proof, but at the same time made many of the specifics in these fields clearer; one example was Adams' analysis of authority. To Adams the primary sources of authority included eminent writers, speakers, common proverbs, oracles among the ancients, and the Sacred Scriptures.⁶⁵ Brigrance contributed additional material on argument from authority:

Obviously no one can live, move, and acquire experience in all fields of human activity. We live in a specialized world and we use the word specialist to denote one who has attained a position of authority in any one of these fields. Where our own knowledge is inadequate, we rely in a large degree on the judgment of accepted specialists.⁶⁶

Logos, artistic proof. The second division of logos was that of "artistic" proof. "Artistic" proof in turn was separated into inductive and deductive reasoning. Whately made a general survey of both types of reasoning:

Arguments are divided according to several different principles; i.e. logically speaking, there are "several divisions" of them....

Arguments then may be divided,

1st, Into Irregular and Regular, i.e. Syllogisms; these last into Categorical and Hypothetical; and the former into Syllogisms in the first Figure, and in the other figures, etc. etc.

2dly, They are frequently divided into "Moral," (or "Probable,") and "Demonstrative," (or "Necessary.")

3dly, Into "Direct" and "Indirect," (or reductio ad absurdum,) the Deistic and Elenctic of Aristotle.

4thly, Into Arguments from "Example," from "Testimony," from "Cause to Effect," from "Analogy," etc. etc....

It will also be readily perceived on examining the principles of these several divisions, that the last of them alone is properly and strictly a division of Arguments as such. The 1st is plainly a division of Arguments according to their subject-

⁶⁵ McGinnis, op.cit., p. 5.

⁶⁶ William Norwood Brigrance, Speech Composition (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1937), p. 164.

matter, whether Necessary or Probable, certain or uncertain....
The 3rd is a division of Arguments according to the purpose for
which they are employed;--according to the intention of the
reasoner....⁶⁷

The first type of reasoning considered was that of induction, which
included generalization, causation, and analogy, in that order.
Aristotle discussed argument from generalization in his Rhetoric,
although not referring to it as generalization:

Another topos is from the parts of a subject, taken
separately, (The whole is the genus, and its parts are the species.
What is true, or untrue, of the whole must be true, or untrue, of
part 1, part 2, etc.; and you argue from part by part to the
whole.⁶⁸

Quintilian, again not using the term generalization, advanced this
type of argument: "Those arguments which prove the lesser from the
greater or the greater from the less or equals from equals are styled
apposite or comparative."⁶⁹

Both Quintilian and Aristotle examined argument from causation.
Aristotle, of course, was first:

Another topos consists in arguing from the presence or absence
of the cause to the existence or non-existence of the effect. If
you prove the cause, you at once prove the effect; and conversely
nothing can exist without its cause.⁷⁰

To Aristotle's theory Quintilian added: "There is another...similar
form of argument, which consists in the inference of facts from their
efficient causes or the reverse, a process known as argument from
causes."⁷¹

⁶⁷Whately, op.cit., p.12-13. ⁶⁸Cooper, op.cit., p. 165.

⁶⁹Butler, op.cit., Vol. II, p.249. ⁷⁰Cooper, op.cit., p.170.

⁷¹Butler, op.cit., Vol. II, p.245.

Adams in the early 19th century also dealt with argument from causes, even as Whately did. Adams placed argument from causation under "internal" proofs along with other types of a similar form of reasoning.⁷²

After argument from generalization and causation came argument from analogy. Here again the foundations rested in Aristotle's Rhetoric;

There are two kinds of argument by example. One consists in the use of a parallel from the facts of history; the other in the use of an invented parallel. This last may take the form of a comparison (parable invented by the speaker), or one may employ fables such as Aesop's African beast-tale.⁷³

Quintilian on at least two different occasions referred to argument from analogy; "Arguments are also drawn from similarities.... To this class belongs the type of argument called...induction by Cicero. Or arguments may be drawn from unlikes...."⁷⁴ "Some draw a distinction between analogy and similarity, but personally I regard the former as included under the latter."⁷⁵ Whately laid considerable stress upon argument from analogy;

The word Analogy, again, is generally employed in the case of Arguments in which the instance adduced is somewhat remote from that to which it is applied; e.g. a physician would be said to know by experience the noxious effects of a certain drug on the human constitution if he had frequently seen men poisoned by it; but if he thence conjectured that it would be noxious to some other species of animal, he would be said to reason from Analogy.⁷⁶

The final type of "artistic" proof used by these rhetoricians was deduction. Deductive reasoning included argument from syllogism

⁷²McGinnis, op.cit., p.4. ⁷³Cooper, op.cit., p. 147.

⁷⁴Butler, op.cit., Vol.II, p.241. ⁷⁵Ibid., p. 291.

⁷⁶Whately, op.cit., p. 27.

and enthymeme and the sub-divisions and definitions under these two groups. However, the rhetoricians cited all agreed in basic form upon the syllogism and enthymeme--differing occasionally only in terminology. Aristotle was the founder or father of the syllogism and syllogistic reasoning and he used this type of reasoning a great deal of the time. His definition of the term enthymeme was as follows;

"Enthymeme" is the name I give to a rhetorical syllogism, "example" to a rhetorical induction...to derive a general law from a number of like instances is in Dialectic induction, in Rhetoric example; whereas to conclude from certain assumptions that something else follows from those assumptions (something distinct from them, yet dependent upon their existing) either universally or as a rule--this in Dialectic is called a syllogism, and in Rhetoric an enthymeme.⁷⁷

Quintilian, relying heavily upon Aristotle, also discussed the syllogism and enthymeme;

Some call the enthymeme a rhetorical syllogism, while others regard it as a part of the syllogism, because whereas the latter always has its premises and conclusion and effects its proof by the employment of all its parts, the enthymeme is content to let its proof be understood without explicit statement.⁷⁸

...the enthymeme...has three meanings; firstly it means anything conceived in the mind...secondly it signifies a proposition with a reason, and thirdly a conclusion of an argument drawn from denial of consequents or from incompatibles....⁷⁹

Adams also investigated the syllogism and the enthymeme as tools in the reasoning process. He spoke of the simple syllogism, the enthymeme--imperfect syllogism with only two of the parts present--and the epichirema.⁸⁰ He was followed by Brigrance who, though not

⁷⁷Cooper, op.cit., p.10.

⁷⁸Butler, op.cit., Vol. II, p.363.

⁷⁹Ibid., p.203.

⁸⁰Jones, op.cit., p.2.

using the exact term—syllogism—still referred to this type of deduction:

In the ordinary methods of developing a subject the speaker attempts to prove the proposition (1) by deductions from established truths or (2) by developing it in a series of consecutive installments.⁸¹

Here, in outline form, were the methods of logos in Invention as they appeared in Aristotle, Quintilian, Whately, Adams and Brigrance;

Logical Proof—Logos;

Non-artistic proof

Evidence
Authority
Sign
Assumption

Artistic proof

Inductive reasoning
Generalization
Causation
Analogy
Deductive reasoning
Syllogism
Enthymeme

Ethos. The second major area of proof under Invention was that of ethos or ethical proof. As Whately said, in summarizing and bringing together the two areas—logos and ethos;

Persuasion, therefore, depends on 1st, Argument, (to prove the expediency of the Means proposed,) and 2dly, What is usually called Exhortation, i.e. the incitement of men to adopt those Means, by representing the end as sufficiently desirable.⁸²

Whately's discussion applied to both ethos and pathos, but one of the means whereby the speaker could incite his hearers to accept his

⁸¹Brigrance, op. cit., p. 102.

⁸²Whately, Op.cit., p. 46.

end was through a development of his own character and personality as a good man—this division was *ethos*. The specific qualities which would build *ethos* varied from rhetorician to rhetorician but the five men seemed to have generally agreed on fundamental principles. Aristotle said of the significance of building *ethos*:

Of the means of persuasion supplied by the speech itself there are three kinds. The first kind reside in the character (*ethos*) of the speaker...

The character (*ethos*) of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief; for as a rule we trust men of probity more, and more quickly, about things in general, while on points outside the realm of exact knowledge, where opinion is divided, we trust them absolutely. This trust, however, should be created by the speech itself, and not left to depend upon an antecedent impression that the speaker is this or that kind of man.⁸³

...the speaker must not merely see to it that his speech (as an argument) shall be convincing and persuasive, but he must (in and by the speech) give the right impression of himself, and get his judge (audience) into the right state of mind.⁸⁴

Aristotle proceeded to define some of the things that would build *ethos* and in so doing he suggested three general areas where these forces could be developed;

As for the speakers themselves, the sources of our trust in them are three, for apart from the arguments (in a speech) there are three things that gain belief, namely, intelligence, character, and good will...⁸⁵

In Rome, Quintilian, in effect, restated Aristotle's suggestions;

...*ethos* in all its forms requires the speaker to be a man of good character and courtesy. For it is most important that he should himself possess or be thought to possess those virtues for the possession of which it is his duty, if possible, to commend his client as well...⁸⁶

As regards the orator himself, the qualities which will most

⁸³Cooper, *op.cit.*, p. 8. ⁸⁴*ibid.*, p. 91. ⁸⁵*ibid.*, 91-92.

⁸⁶Butler, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 427.

commend him are courtesy, kindness, moderation and benevolence. But, on the other hand, the opposite of the qualities will sometimes be becoming to a good man. He may hate the bad, be moved to passion in the public interest, seek to avenge crime and wrong and, in fine, as I said at the beginning, may follow the promptings of every honourable emotion.⁸⁷

The three more modern rhetoricians continued to work upon the fundamental bases set up by Quintilian and Aristotle, altering them only in name and number. Whately stated or restated almost exactly the same concepts:

Under the head of Affections may be included the sentiments of Esteem, Regard, Admiration, etc. which it is so important that the audience should feel towards the Speaker. Aristotle has considered this as a distinct head, separating the consideration of the speaker's Character...from that of the disposition of the hearers; under which, however, it might, according to his own views, have been included; it being plain from his manner of treating of the speaker's Character, that he means, not his real character...but the impression produced on the minds of the hearers, by the speaker, respecting himself. He remarks, justly, that the Character to be established is that of, 1st, Good Principle, 2dly, Good Sense, and 3dly, Goodwill and friendly disposition towards the audience addressed.⁸⁸

Adams was perhaps more specific in naming the exact qualities which contributed to ethos. However, even so, he still followed Aristotle and used what he considered Aristotle's classifications, i.e. sincerity, virtue, health, beauty, riches, arts, eloquence, sciences, the contrary of what your enemy desires, the esteem of the wise, and what the multitude desires.⁸⁹ Brigrance agreed very closely with Adams;

Obviously a speaker can, through his attitude and personality, attract favorable or unfavorable attention and arouse motives

⁸⁷Butler, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 179. ⁸⁸Whately, op.cit., p.43-49.

⁸⁹McGinnis, op. cit., pp. 6,8.

that produce or prevent persuasion.

.....

It is almost needless to say that a successful speaker must have a strong moral character, for "What you are speaks so loud I cannot hear what you say."...A speaker must also have self-control.... Sincerity and earnestness are likewise basic qualities that influence every speaker's powers of persuasion.⁹⁰

The fundamental principles of ethos as they emerged from the works of the five men studies were approximately seven in number:

Ethos;

Simplicity
Sincerity
Friendliness
Sympathy
Knowledge of subject
Patience toward opponents
Devotion to cause

Pathos. The third partition of Invention was that of emotion or pathos. Ethos was related to the character of the speaker; pathos was related to the speaker's effect upon the emotions and emotional responses of the audience. Just as logos and ethos were methods of persuasion, so, according to the rhetoricians, was pathos. In illustration of this Aristotle said;

Secondly, persuasion is effected through the audience, when they are brought by the speech into a state of emotion; for we give very different decisions under the sway of pain or joy, and liking or hatred.⁹¹

These emotions, Aristotle continued, involved anger, mildness, love or friendship, fear and confidence, shame and shamelessness, benevolence, pity, indignation, envy, and emulation.⁹² Quintilian's approach was

⁹⁰Brigance, op.cit., pp. 140-141. ⁹¹Cooper, op.cit., p.9.

⁹²Cooper, op.cit., pp. 93,99,102,107,112,117,119,123,127,129.

very similar to that of Aristotle and he added little additional thought in this particular area;

There is scope for an appeal to the emotions, as I have already said, in every portion of a speech. Moreover these emotions present great variety, and demand more than cursory treatment, since it is in their handling that the power of oratory shows itself at its highest.⁹³

Speaking of the exact emotions involved in the construction of pathos he continued: "...pathos is almost entirely concerned with anger, dislike, fear, hatred and pity."⁹⁴ Quintillian here played down the importance of love and friendship. Whately, considering the question at a later period, worked upon a more general basis:

Aristotle, and many other writers, have spoken of Appeals to the Passions as an unfair mode of influencing the hearers; in answer to which, Dr. Campbell has remarked, that there can be no Persuasion without an address to the Passions; and it is evident, from what has been just said, that he is right, if under the term Passion is included every active principle of our nature.⁹⁵

Adams returned to Aristotle and merely reiterated, in essence, the Greek's main classifications of pathos. Adams' classification compassed anger and its remission, love and hatred, fear and boldness, shame and honor, compassion and revenge, envy and emulation, and to these he added what he called "sharp stimulants," i.e. ambition, avarice, love of fame, and patriotism.⁹⁶ Brigrance, the contemporary, divided the appeals to emotion into fewer groupings. He said: "Concretness and...Suspense are generally conceded to be very important means of holding attention.... Activity likewise

⁹³Batler, op.cit., Vol.II, p. 417. ⁹⁴Ibid., p. 429.

⁹⁵Whately, op.cit., p. 47. ⁹⁶McGinnis, op.cit., pp. 8,9.

commands our attention."⁹⁷ The examples he gave of these areas were conflict, humor, the familiar, derived interest and self-interest.⁹⁸

The principles of pathos that were used in the analysis of Churchill's eleven War speeches were very much those of Aristotle as added to by the later rhetoricians. These qualities of emotional proof included:

Pathos:

Anger
Mildness
Love and friendship
Enmity and hatred
Fear
Confidence
Shame
Pity
Indignation
Envy
Emulation
Contempt

Arrangement

The second major division of speech analysis was that of Arrangement. Invention involved the argument and proof and Arrangement dealt with the order of Invention in the address. The maximum number of parts of the speech advanced by the five rhetoricians was usually four to five. Aristotle began with four:

These are the essential elements of a speech; at most, the parts cannot exceed four—Proem, Statement, Argument, and Epilogue. "Refutation" of the opponent falls under the head of the arguments...⁹⁹

The later rhetoricians generally merely elaborated upon Aristotle's

⁹⁷Brigance, op.cit., p.125. ⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 126,127,129,132,133.

⁹⁹Cooper, op.cit., p. 220.

analysis of arrangement and gave different names to some of his divisions. Quintilian, for instance, offered a Latinization of the groupings and defined them:

The commencement or exordium as we call it in Latin is styled a proem by the Greeks. This seems to me a more appropriate name, because whereas we merely indicate that we are beginning our task, they clearly show that this portion is designed as an introduction to the subject on which the orator has to speak.¹⁰⁰

The sole purpose of the exordium is to prepare our audience in such a way that they will be disposed to lend a ready ear to the rest of our speech.¹⁰¹

It is a most natural and frequently necessary proceeding, that after preparing the mind of the judge in the manner above we should indicate the nature of the subject on which he will have to give judgment; that is the statement of facts.¹⁰²

Following his development of proem and statement of fact, which were drawn from Aristotle, Quintilian advanced a fifth division of arrangement: "Most authorities divide the forensic speech into five parts; the exordium, the statement of facts, the proof, the refutation, and the peroration."¹⁰³ He was, of course, speaking of forensic oratory, yet the divisions were applicable to other types as well. Whately added little to Quintilian and referred back to Aristotle. Adams employed the term "disposition" instead of Arrangement and defined this term: "Disposition is the orderly arrangement of the things invented."¹⁰⁴ In his discussion of "disposition" he especially stressed exordium and narration as the vital parts of the address. Brigrance simplified the four or five divisions of the other rhetoricians into three: introduction,

¹⁰⁰ Butler, op.cit., Vol.II, p.7.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p.9.

¹⁰² Ibid., p.49.

¹⁰³ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 515.

¹⁰⁴ McGinnis, op.cit. p.9.

discussion, and conclusion.¹⁰⁵

The thesis made use of the four original divisions of Arrangement which Aristotle provided since these seemed to have been so little changed by the other four men. These parts of Arrangement as they were used for analysis were:

Arrangement:

Proem
Statement of fact
Argument
Epilogue.

Style

The third and final element upon which the speeches of Churchill were evaluated was that of style—meaning the use of language. There were four sub-divisions of style considered in order to facilitate the analysis. These four sub-divisions included the areas with which the rhetoricians seemed most concerned, they were: Level, Diction and Word Choice, Sentence Structure, and Rhetorical Devices and Figurative Language.

Level. The style levels, according to Quintilian, were three:

There is another threefold division, whereby, it is held, we may differentiate three styles of speaking, all of them correct. The first is termed the plain..., the second grand and forcible..., and the third either intermediate or florid.... The nature of these three styles is, broadly speaking, as follows. The first would seem best adapted for instructing, the second for moving, and the third...for charming...¹⁰⁶

Since Quintilian dedicated more time to a discussion of style and did perhaps the most thorough study of it among the five rhetoricians

¹⁰⁵Brigance, op.cit., p.66. ¹⁰⁶Butler, op.cit., Vol.IV, p.483.

cited, it was decided to use his classifications with only slight modification in names. The style levels, then, were:

Level:

Plain
Middle
Elevated, florid, sublime

Diction and word choice. Aristotle was very interested in providing rules for the use of words and word combinations;

The style, again should be neither mean nor above the dignity of the subject, but appropriate; the poetical style, say, is not mean, but it is unsuited to prose. Clearness is secured through the use of name-words...and, verbs, that are current terms...¹⁰⁷

In style, the illusion is successful if we take our individual words from the current stock, and put them together (with skill). That is what Euripides does, and he led the way to this style.¹⁰⁸

Aristotle suggested using words which were to be found in the "current stock." Quintilian supplemented this rule with another in relation to the structure of the words themselves;

...it is a blemish to have too many monosyllables in succession, since the inevitable result is that, owing to the frequency of the pauses, the rhythm degenerates into a series of jerks...the converse is also true as regards long syllables, since their accumulation makes our rhythm drag.¹⁰⁹

Regulations for the use of abstract and general words were offered by Whately: "With respect then to 'Proper' terms, the principal rule for guiding our Choice with a view to Energy is to prefer, ever, those words which are the least abstract and general."¹¹⁰ He continued in another passage;

¹⁰⁷Cooper, op.cit., p.135. ¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 186.

¹⁰⁹Butler, op.cit., Vol. III, p.531. ¹¹⁰Whately, op.cit., p.77.

It is not necessary to dwell on that obvious rule laid down by Aristotle, to avoid uncommon, as they are vulgarly called, hard words, i.e. those which are such to the persons addressed; but it may be worth remarking, that to those who wish to be understood by the lower orders, one of the best principles of selection is to prefer terms of Saxon origin, which will generally be more familiar to them, than those derived from Latin...¹¹¹

Adams stressed the necessity of correct grammar and considered it one of the fundamental tenets of good rhetoric.¹¹² In his lecture on "Elocution and Purity," he pointed out the significance of word choice that was "English and clear."¹¹³ Writing on word choice, Brigrance brought out the importance of "specific words," "simple words," "nuance words," and the "effective phrase."¹¹⁴

From the criteria advanced by these five rhetoricians the three following rules for measuring diction and word choice were formed;

Diction and word choice;

Words Anglo-Saxon or Latin in origin
Words Mono-syllabic or Poly-syllabic
Words generally abstract and full of imagery, or concrete

Sentence structure. For sentence structure the later three of the five men, Whately, Adams, and Brigrance were more carefully perused since they spoke, of course, of sentence structure as it would appear in the English language. Whately cautioned against certain sentence types;

In respect to the Construction of sentences, it is an obvious

¹¹¹ibid., p. 69. ¹¹²McGinnis, op.cit., p. 1.

¹¹³Jones, op.cit., p. 3. ¹¹⁴Brigrance, op.cit., p. 197.

caution to abstain from such as are too long; but it is a mistake to suppose that the obscurity of many long sentences depends on their length alone; a well constructed sentence of very considerable length may be more readily understood, than a shorter one which is more awkwardly framed.¹¹⁵

Adams offered several fundamental theories in relation to sentences, as he discussed at length the simple sentence, the complex sentence, and the importance of each to the speaker. One of his primary concerns was with clarity and meaning.¹¹⁶ Brigrance also considered the importance of keeping sentence structure both fresh and clear;

Sentences may be long or short, with infinite gradations between. Neither is better than the other, for each length has its own purpose. Monotony arises from the overuse of either one. Says Hill; "In unbroken succession, short sentences distract or confuse the reader (hearer), long sentences fatigue him!"¹¹⁷

Sentences are either loose or periodic. The loose sentence is one in which each qualifying element is added to the idea to which it belongs with no attempt at artistic or suspended grouping.... The periodic sentence, on the other hand, by having these qualifying elements before the idea to which they belong, suspends the meaning until the end.¹¹⁸

In the English structure of language there were four types of sentence; simple, compound, complex, and compound-complex, these were all variations of the above mentioned conceptions which Whately, Adams, and Brigrance extended.

Sentence structure;

Simple
Compound
Complex
Compound-complex

¹¹⁵Whately, op.cit., p. 70. ¹¹⁶Jones, op.cit., p. 5.

¹¹⁷Brigrance, op.cit., p. 233. ¹¹⁸Ibid., p. 234.

Rhetorical devices and figurative language. The final division for analysis under Style dealt with the figurative structure and thought of the language used in speech. Quintilian wrote:

Style is revealed both in individual words and in groups of words. As regards the former, we must see that they are Latin, clear, elegant and well-adapted to produce the desired effect. As regards the latter, they must be correct, aptly placed and adorned with suitable figures.¹¹⁹

In this statement of Quintilian's two things about figurative language were stressed: (1) figurative language was important, (2) figurative language was to be used very carefully. The numbers of and types of figures of speech and other rhetorical devices were almost legion; however, there were certain basic definitions and classifications common to the writings of all five rhetoricians. Quintilian very aptly wrote:

There is...a considerable difference of opinion among authors as to the meaning of the name (figure), the number of genera and the nature and number of the species into which figures may be divided. The first point for consideration is, therefore, what is meant by a figure. For the term is used in two senses. In the first it is applied to any form in which thought is expressed, just as it is to bodies which, whatever their composition, must have some shape. In the second and special sense, in which it is called a schema, it means a rational change in meaning of language from the ordinary and simple form, that is to say, a change analogous to that involved by sitting, lying down on something or looking back.¹²⁰

As stated before, the masters of rhetoric have advanced many different names for their figures, but certain basics have stood out.

Imagery. Quintilian wrote at considerable length on "vivid

¹¹⁹Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 195.

¹²⁰Ibid., Vol. III, p. 353.

illustration;"

...vivid illustration, or, as some prefer to call it, representation, is something more than mere clearness, since the latter merely lets itself be seen, whereas the former thrusts itself upon our notice. It is a great gift to be able to set forth the facts on which we are speaking clearly and vividly.¹²¹

He did not divide imagery up into its various sections but merely intimated at many of these sub-divisions. On the whole, imagery might have been thought to separate, from Quintilian's discussion, into the areas of sensory perception, i.e. auditory, gustatory, visual, olifactory, tactual, thermal, and kinesthetic.

Epithet. Epithet and metaphor were sometimes mentioned together by the rhetoricians, Whately, however, separated them:

The use of Epithets...in prose composition, is not to be proscribed; as the judicious employment of them is undoubtedly conducive to Energy.

.....
Indeed it will generally happen, that the Epithets employed by a skillful Orator, will be found to be, in fact, so many abridged arguments, the force of which is sufficiently conveyed by a mere hint; e.g. if any one says, "we ought to take warning from the bloody revolution of France," the Epithet suggests one of the reasons for our being warned; and that, not less clearly, and more forcibly, than if the Argument had been stated at length.¹²²

Quintilian too had earlier separated them:

...the epithet...is clearly an ornament. Poets employ it with special frequency and freedom, since for them it is sufficient that the epithet should suit the word to which it is applied....
But in oratory an epithet is redundant unless it has some point.¹²³

Aristotle considered the two of them together--although he drew no close tie between them:

The speaker must find epithets and metaphors alike that are

¹²¹Ibid., p. 245. ¹²²Whately, op. cit., p. 85-86.

¹²³Butler, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 323-4.

fitting; their appropriateness will arise from the correspondence (proportion, between epithet or metaphor and the thing to which it is applied).¹²⁴

Metaphor. All five rhetoricians laid a great deal of stress upon the use of metaphor as an effective figure of speech. Aristotle has already been mentioned and Quintilian followed him quite closely: "Let us begin, then, with the commonest and by far the most beautiful of tropes, namely, metaphor, the Greek term for our translatio."¹²⁵ Whately employed almost the same terms that Quintilian used in speaking of its importance:

But to proceed with the consideration of Tropes; the most employed and most important of all those kinds of expressions which depart from the plain and strictly Appropriate Style... is the Metaphor, in the usual and limited sense; viz. a word substituted for another, on account of the Resemblance or Analogy between their significations.¹²⁶

Adams and Brigrance also discussed it and placed it among the important figures.

Simile. Very closely related to metaphor was simile; Aristotle pointed this out: "The simile, as we said before...is a metaphor, differing from it only in that the simile adds the phrase of comparison, which makes it longer, and hence less pleasing."¹²⁷ Whately made a similar comparison: "The Simile or Comparison may be considered as differing in form only from a Metaphor; the Resemblance being in that case stated, which in the Metaphor is implied."¹²⁸ Whately and Aristotle had both considered the metaphor and simile as

¹²⁴Cooper, op. cit., p.187. ¹²⁵Butler, op.cit., Vol. III, p.303.

¹²⁶Whately, op.cit., p.79. ¹²⁷Cooper, op.cit., p.207.

¹²⁸Whately, op.cit., p.79.

close relatives; to Quintilian the simile appeared more as a value separate from the metaphor;

The invention of similes has also provided an admirable means of illuminating our descriptions. Some of these are designed for insertion among our arguments to help our proof, while others are devised to make our pictures yet more vivid...¹²⁹

Personification. Quintilian discussed personification under the title of "impersonation" and said that in this figure the orator was permitted the greatest of liberties for; "...we are even allowed in this form of speech to bring down the gods from heaven and raise the dead, while cities also and peoples may find a voice."¹³⁰ To Whately, personification was another form of Metaphor;

But the highest degree of Energy...is produced by such Metaphors as attribute life and action to things inanimate; and that, even when by this means the last mentioned rule, i.e. when sensible objects are illustrated by intellectual. For the disadvantage is overbalanced by the vivid impression produced by the idea of personality or activity...¹³¹

Interrogation. Interrogation, according to Quintilian, might have involved two forms of speech figure, that of questioning and that of discourse or "communication." To him "communication" was a separate device in terms of the other figures but interrogation might have been a branch from it.¹³² On interrogation itself he commented;

What is more common than to ask or enquire? For both terms used indifferently, although the one seems to imply a desire for knowledge, and the other a desire to prove something. But whichever term we use, the thing which they represent admits a variety of figures.¹³³

¹²⁹Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.251. ¹³⁰Ibid., p. 391.

¹³¹Whately, op.cit., p.82. ¹³²Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.385.

¹³³Ibid., p.377.

Whately did not emphasize the importance of interrogation to the degree that Quintilian did, but he did discuss it;

Lastly, to the Speaker especially, the occasional employment of the Interrogative form, will often prove serviceable with a view to Energy. It calls the hearer's attention more forcibly to some important point, by a personal appeal to each, either to assent to what is urged, or to frame a reasonable objection; and it often carries with it an air of triumphant defiance of an opponent to refute the argument if he can.¹³⁴

Irony and satire. Aristotle spoke of the use of irony as a supplement to many of the types of emotion, etc. which the speaker had built.¹³⁵ Quintilian then defined it:

Irony involving a figure does not differ from the irony which is a trope, as far as its genus is concerned, since in both cases we understand something which is the opposite of what is actually said...¹³⁶

Contrast. Contrast might have fitted in with simile and metaphor and yet again was perhaps of sufficient importance, according to most of the rhetoricians, to have stood by itself. Whately considered it a very important figure;

There can be no doubt that this figure is calculated to add greatly to Energy. Every thing is rendered more striking by contrast; and almost every kind of subject-matter affords materials for contrasted expressions. Truth is opposed to error; wise conduct to foolish; different causes often produce opposite effects; different circumstances dictate to prudence opposite conduct; opposite impressions may be made by the same object, on different minds; and every extreme is opposed both to the Mean, and to the other extreme.¹³⁷

Analogy. Quintilian and Aristotle both discussed comparison in its various forms as a figure of speech and by the times of

¹³⁴Whately, op.cit., p. 107. ¹³⁵Cooper, op.cit., p.199.

¹³⁶Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.401. ¹³⁷Whately, op.cit., p.104-5.

Adams and Brigrance one phase of the comparing devices had come to be known as analogy. Brigrance, for example, considered its importance and ranked it along with contrast or antithesis:

Analogy and antithesis, or as they are sometimes called, comparison and contrast, have no superior among the objective elements of vividness. They place black against white, good against bad, and the measure of difference is heightened by the comparison.¹³⁸

Interjection. This was a technique used to convey a thought or emotion aside from the central theme of the sentence or parallel to it. Quintilian described it under the heading of "aposiopesis:"

Aposiopesis, which Cicero calls reticentia, Celsus obticentia, and some interruptio, is used to indicate passion or anger....Or it may serve to give an impression of anxiety or scruple.... Again it may be employed as a means of transition...¹³⁹

Interjection was usually accomplished with the aid of either dashes or parenthesis.

Anaphora and epistrophe. Anaphora, the repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of several consecutive phrases or sentences, and epistrophe, the repetition of the same word or group of words at the end of several consecutive phrases or sentences, were both considered and discussed by Quintilian:

Sentences may repeatedly commence or end with the same word or may begin and end with the same phrase. The same word may be reiterated either at the beginning or at the conclusion, or may be repeated, but in a different sense.¹⁴⁰

Whately also commented on word arrangement, although again, not using the terms anaphora and epistrophe which have appeared to have been

¹³⁸Brigrance, op.cit., p. 247.

¹³⁹Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.407.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 369-70.

more modern terms. About word arrangement Whately wrote:

Lastly, the Arrangement of words may be made highly conducive to Energy. The importance of an attention to this point, with a view to Perspicuity, has been already noticed; but of two sentences equally perspicuous, and consisting of the very same words, the one may be a feeble and languid, the other a striking and Energetic expression, merely from the difference of Arrangement.¹⁴¹

It was, of course, through arrangement that anaphora and epistrophe were achieved.

Hyperbole. This was the quality of exaggeration, or, as Quintilian put it: "elegant straining of the truth." He attributed to it two forms:

I have kept hyperbole to the last, on the ground of its boldness. It means an elegant straining of the truth, and may be employed indifferently for exaggeration or attenuation. It can be used in various ways.¹⁴²

Aristotle, earlier, had related the hyperbole to the metaphor:

It may be added that successful hyperboles are metaphors; as, for example, the one about the man with the black eye: 'You would have taken him for a basket of mulberries.' The black eye has the purple color; the exaggeration lies in the quantity of fruit. If you employ a word of comparison (saying 'Like this or that'), you have, in effect, a hyperbole, the difference lying only in the formula.¹⁴³

Onomatopoea. Both Quintilian and Whately felt that onomatopoea was a figure of speech, however, their evaluation of its merits were quite different. Quintilian commented on it:

...onomatopoea, that is to say, the creation of a word, although regarded with the highest approbation by the Greeks, is scarcely permissible to a Roman.... For instance...lowing... a hiss, and mummr... ¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹Whately, op.cit., p. 98.

¹⁴²Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.339.

¹⁴³Cooper, op.cit., p. 216.

¹⁴⁴Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.319.

Whately was a degree more favourable to its usage:

Critics treating on this subject have gone into opposite extremes; some fancifully attributing to words, or combinations of words, an Imitative power far beyond what they can really possess, and representing this kind of Imitation as deserving to be studiously aimed at; and others, on the contrary, considering nearly the whole of this kind of excellence as no better than imaginary, and regarding the examples which do occur, and have been cited, of a congruity between the sound and the sense as purely accidental. The truth probably lies between these two extremes. In the first place, that words denoting sounds, or employed in describing them, may be Imitative of those sounds, must be admitted by all; indeed this kind of Imitation is, to a certain degree, almost unavoidable, in our language at least...¹⁴⁵

Metonymy and synecdoche. In Quintilian's treatment of style and figurative language both metonymy and synecdoche were mentioned; about synecdoche he commented:

...synecdoche has the power to give variety to our language by making us realise many things from one, the whole from a part, the genus from a species, things which follow from things which have preceded; or, on the other hand, the whole procedure may be reversed.¹⁴⁶

Later he discussed metonymy: "It is but a short step from synecdoche to metonymy, which consists in the substitution of one name for another, and, as Cicero tells us, is called hypallage by the rhetoricians."¹⁴⁷ Whately was more convinced of the importance of synecdoche than he was of metonymy:

...not only does a regard for Energy require that we should not use terms more General than are exactly adequate to the objects spoken of, but we are also allowed, in many cases, to employ less General terms than are exactly Appropriate. In which case we are employing words not "Appropriate," but belonging to the second of the two classes just mentioned. The use of this Trope (enumerated by Aristotle among the Metaphors, but since more commonly called

¹⁴⁵Whately, op.cit., p.86-7.

¹⁴⁶Butler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.311.

¹⁴⁷Ibid., p. 313.

Synecdoche) is very frequent, as it conduces much to the Energy of the expression, without occasioning, in general, any risk of its meaning being mistaken.¹⁴⁸

Adams in number 34 of his lectures on rhetoric treated with both metonymy and synecdoche as figures of speech and rhetorical devices.¹⁴⁹

Acclamation. Acclamation, in essence, was "praise" and was treated more as a speech type than a figure by Aristotle;

Now praise is an utterance making manifest the greatness of a virtue. Therefore the speaker must show the actions of his man to be of such and such a quality. Encomium concerns the man's actual deeds...¹⁵⁰

Among the other rhetoricians it varied between figure and type; some of them considered it a form of pathos building emulation.

Epigram. Quintilian lived in an age in which the epigram was under serious criticism; however, he asked his pupils: "What sin is there in a good epigram? ...It may be urged, perhaps, that it is a form of ornament eschewed by the ancients. What do you mean by antiquity?"¹⁵¹ Brigrance listed it as a figure of probably equal merit with analogy and allusion.¹⁵²

Literary quotation and reference. Brigrance was cited above as using "allusion", which would have included allusion to literature, history, scripture, etc. Many of the other rhetoricians relied very heavily upon quotation and reference in their discourses. Quintilian especially used it. A literary quotation might have served a double purpose for it could also have been a metaphor, hyperbole or

¹⁴⁸Whately, op.cit., p.78. ¹⁴⁹Jones, op.cit., p.5.

¹⁵⁰Cooper, op.cit., p.52. ¹⁵¹Batler, op.cit., Vol.III, p.299.

¹⁵²Brigrance, op.cit., p.197-8.

any of several other figures—but its being borrowed rather than original set it off from them in a special sense.

Alliteration. Alliteration was the repetition of the same letter at the beginning of two or more words within the same phrase—either consecutively placed or else separated by a very small word which did not interfere with the sound, for example, "long, low, and lovely." This type of phrase structure made for a tone or rhythm which was used for emphasis. Whately did not use the term alliteration but he wrote about its fundamental structure. One of the rules he laid down for its usage was very important;

The principle here laid down will especially apply to the Choice of words, with a view to their Imitative, or otherwise, Appropriate sound. The attempt to make the sound an echo to the sense, is indeed more frequently to be met with in poets than in prose writers; but it may be worth remarking, that an evident effort after this kind of excellence, as it is offensive in any Kind of Composition, would in prose appear peculiarly disgusting.¹⁵³

All the other rhetoricians discussed tone, rhythm, and sound whether referring to it as alliteration or phrase structure.

Climax. Quintilian spoke of climax as "gradation" and urged that it be sparingly used;

Gradation, which the Greeks call climax, necessitates a more obvious and less natural application of art and should therefore be more sparingly employed. Moreover, it involves addition, since it repeats what has already been said and, before passing to a new point, dwells on those which precede.¹⁵⁴

Whately was more favourable to the use of climax than was Quintilian and he defined it as the end result of several comparisons of a

¹⁵³Whately, op.cit., p.86.

¹⁵⁴Butler, op.cit., Vol. III, p.477.

particular nature;

Comparison is one powerful means of exciting or heightening any emotion; viz. by presenting a parallel between the case in hand and some other that is calculated to call forth such emotions; taking care, of course, to represent the present case as stronger than the one it is compared with, and such as ought to affect us more powerfully.

When several successive steps of this kind are employed to raise the feelings gradually to the highest pitch (which is the principal employment of what Rhetoricians call the Climax,) a far stronger effect is produced than by the mere presentation of the most striking object at once.¹⁵⁵

Summary. The rhetorical devices and figures which were selected through examination of the preceding works of the five rhetoricians were as follows;

Rhetorical devices and figurative language;

Imagery	Irony and satire	Onomatopoea
Epithet	Contrast	Metonymy and
Metaphor	Analogy	synecdoche
Simile	Interjection	Acclamation
Personification	Anaphora and epistrophe	Epigram
Interrogation	Hyperbole	Literary quote
and discourse		Alliteration
		Climax

¹⁵⁵Whately, op.cit., pp. 52-53.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS IN THE RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

OF

ELEVEN OF WINSTON CHURCHILL'S WORLD WAR II ADDRESSES

In Chapter IV the criteria for analysis discussed in Chapter III were applied to the eleven speeches selected for study. No attempt was made to list every example of each rhetorical quality in each address; however, a representative proportion of the illustrations were used. The analysis was conducted in the same order in which the criteria were discussed and the speeches were examined in chronological order.

I. PRIME MINISTER

INVENTIONLogos—non-artistic proof

Evidence. Churchill's first address as Prime Minister contained extensive use of evidence in terms of the length of the speech. The greater part of this evidence dealt with the formation of a new cabinet and Government to replace that which, under Chamberlain, had fallen;

On Friday evening last I received His Majesty's commission to form a new Administration. It was the evident wish and will of Parliament and the nation that this should be conceived on the broadest possible basis and that it should include all Parties.... I have completed the most important part of this task. A War Cabinet has been formed of five Members... The three Party Leaders have agreed to serve, either in the War Cabinet or in high executive office. The three Fighting Services have been filled....

A number of other key positions were filled yesterday, and I am submitting a further list to His Majesty tonight.¹⁵⁶

He also used some evidence in speaking of the War itself: "...we are in action at many points in Norway and in Holland...the air battle is continuous, and...many preparations have to be made here at home."¹⁵⁷

Authority. In the course of his address Churchill referred to the King: "On Friday evening last I received His Majesty's commission..."¹⁵⁸ Later on he turned to Parliament: "It was the evident wish and will of Parliament and the nation...."¹⁵⁹ He also relied on the Speaker of the House: "I considered it in the public interest to suggest that the House should be summoned to meet today. Mr. Speaker agreed, and took the necessary steps...."¹⁶⁰

Sign. The Prime Minister made no use of argument from sign.

Assumption. Churchill used only one or two arguments from assumption. In one of these arguments he told the nation about the future: "We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many long months of struggle and of suffering."¹⁶¹

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalisation. Churchill drew a generalisation from the future and the severity of the struggle that was to come in terms of the new Government:

To form an Administration of this scale and complexity is a serious undertaking in itself, but it must be remembered that we are in the preliminary stage of one of the greatest battles in history...¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶Churchill, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p.275. ¹⁵⁷Ibid., p.276.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p.275. ¹⁵⁹Ibid., p.275. ¹⁶⁰Ibid. ¹⁶¹Ibid., p.276.

¹⁶²Ibid., p.276.

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. The Prime Minister posed one argument from causation to explain the necessity for having quickly filled some of the cabinet offices: "The three Fighting Services have been filled. It was necessary that this should be done in one single day, on account of the extreme urgency and rigor of events."¹⁶³ He used another to show why the House had been summoned; "I considered it in the public interest to suggest that the House should be summoned to meet today."¹⁶⁴

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. There was no argument from analogy in the address.

Deductive reasoning—argument from syllogism and enthymeme. There was no argument from syllogism or enthymeme in the address.

Ethos

Sincerity. The sincerity in the speech was best illustrated by the famous phrase with which Churchill made it clear to the people of Britain that he could promise them very little: "I would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this Government: 'I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat.'"¹⁶⁵

Friendliness. The Prime Minister showed friendliness towards both those acquaintances who were in the new Government and towards those who had been in the old and were not asked to join the new one; "I hope that any of my friends and colleagues, or former colleagues, who are affected by the political reconstruction, will make all

¹⁶³Ibid., p.275. ¹⁶⁴Ibid., p.276. ¹⁶⁵Ibid.

allowance for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act."¹⁶⁶

Knowledge of subject. Churchill's primary subject in the address was the formation of a new Government. As Prime Minister it was essential to him that he be familiar with the methods, positions, and qualifications of appointment and during his discussion he demonstrated a knowledge of all three.

Devotion to cause. The cause with which he was concerned was that of winning the War and he spoke of achieving that goal despite all obstacles;

You ask, what is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory-- victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival.¹⁶⁷

Pathos

Love and friendship. Churchill closed his address with an expression of friendship and comradeship as he sought to inspire his audience to a common co-operative effort; "At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, 'Come, then, let us go forward together with our united strength.'"¹⁶⁸

Enmity and hatred. When he spoke of the enemy he used enmity and hatred. There were, however, few references to the enemy within the confines of this particular speech;

You ask, What is our policy? I will say; "It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime."¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶Ibid. ¹⁶⁷Ibid. ¹⁶⁸Ibid. ¹⁶⁹Ibid.

Confidence. Churchill believed in the ultimate triumph of his cause which was that of victory. As he took his office he said: "But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men."¹⁷⁰

ARRANGEMENT

The address contained only three of the four parts of arrangement, i.e. proem, statement, and epilogue. The proem very briefly discussed the fall of the old Government and the King's commission to Churchill to form a new National Government. The statement described what had been done already in the building of this Government and contained a request for Parliament's approval of the measures and appointments already undertaken. The epilogue was an inspirational paragraph on the objectives of the British Government.

STYLE

Level. The style level was middle. The address was primarily a report to the House of Commons on the measures which the Prime Minister had taken in the building of a Cabinet. The final paragraph rose to the sublime as the language became more figurative and abstract but the over all level was middle.

Diction and word choice. The word choice was all Anglo-Saxon and the greater number of words were monosyllabic. There were polysyllabic words used frequently and the majority of them were short, concrete, and easy to understand and pronounce.

¹⁷⁰ibid.

Sentence structure. The sentences in terms of structure were essentially complex and compound. There were several long sentences which were compound-complex and some simple sentences. The following was a typical paragraph:

I considered it in the public interest to suggest that the House should be summoned to meet today. Mr. Speaker agreed, and took the necessary steps, in accordance with the powers conferred upon him by the Resolution of the House. At the end of the proceedings today, the Adjournment of the House will be proposed until Tuesday, 21st May, with, of course, provision for earlier meeting if need be. The business to be considered during that week will be notified to Members at the earliest opportunity. I now invite the House, by the Resolution which stands in my name, to record its approval of the steps taken and to declare its confidence in the new Government. 171

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Imagery. The Prime Minister made occasional use of imagery, all of it visual; "...we are in the preliminary stage of one of the greatest battles in history..." 172 "...We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind...a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime." 173 He used imagery in referring to the victory; "...victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be...no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal." 174

Direct discourse and rhetorical question. The address contained both direct discourse and rhetorical question. The following lines were composed of both;

You ask, what is our policy? I will say; "It is to wage war,

171 ibid., p. 275. 172 ibid., p.276. 173 ibid. 174 ibid.

by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us; to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy." You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory—victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be...¹⁷⁵

Anaphora. For word and phrase emphasis Churchill used some anaphora;

...that we have to be prepared in the Mediterranean, that the air battle is continuous, and that many preparations have to be made here at home....I hope I may be pardoned...I hope that any of my friends and colleagues...

...without victory there is no survival...no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for; no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages...¹⁷⁶

Alliteration. The Prime Minister also employed alliteration; "wish and will," "little longer," "should be summoned," "blood, toil, tears, and sweat," and "wage war."¹⁷⁷

Synecdoche. There was limited use of synecdoche. Churchill spoke several times of the Government, using this figure; "It was the evident wish and will of Parliament and the nation...House should be summoned..."¹⁷⁸

Epigram. He posed one phrase which has since become an epigram; "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat."¹⁷⁹

Climax. He concluded his speech with climax;

We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind, We have before us many, many long months of struggle and of suffering. You ask, What is our policy? I will say; "It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that

¹⁷⁵Ibid. ¹⁷⁶Ibid. ¹⁷⁷Ibid., pp. 275, 276. ¹⁷⁸Ibid., p. 275.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 276.

God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy." You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word; Victory--victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realized; no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for; no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal. But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, "Come, then, let us go forward together with our united strength."¹⁸⁰

II. DUNKIRK

INVENTION

Logos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. "Dunkirk" used a large amount of evidence, especially statistics from the military situation in France and the condition of the home defense forces. The address opened with a discussion of the situation in France;

From the moment that the French defenses at Sedan and on the Meuse were broken at the end of the second week of May, only a rapid retreat to Amiens and the south could have saved the British and French Armies who had entered Belgium at the appeal of the Belgian King; but this strategic fact was not immediately realized...the German eruption swept like a sharp scythe around the right and rear of the armies of the north. Eight or nine armored divisions, each of about four hundred armored vehicles of different kinds, but carefully assorted to be complementary and divisible into small self contained units, cut off all communications between us and the French Armies. It severed our own communications for food and ammunition, which ran first to Amiens and afterwards through Abbeville, and it shore its way up the coast to Boulogne and Calais, and almost to Dunkirk. Behind this armored and mechanized onslaught came a number of German divisions in lorries, and behind them again there plodded comparatively slowly the dull brute mass of the ordinary German Army and German people...¹⁸¹

His use of evidence in this example showed a background and foundation

¹⁸⁰ibid. ¹⁸¹ibid., p. 289.

in terms of knowledge of what was happening or had happened in France. He continued, this time considering troop movements and placements:

The Guards defended Boulogne for a while and they were withdrawn by orders from this country. The Rifle Brigade, the 60th Rifles, and the Queen Victoria's Rifles, with a battalion of British tanks and 1,000 Frenchmen, in all about four thousand strong, defended Calais to the last.... Only 30 unwounded survivors were brought off by the Navy, and we do not know the fate of their comrades.¹⁸²

He also knew the strength and importance of the Belgian forces and he commented on them and the action of their King:

He and his brave, efficient Army, nearly half a million strong, guarded our left flank and thus kept open our only line of retreat to the sea.... The surrender of the Belgian Army compelled the British at the shortest notice to cover a flank to the sea of more than 30 miles in length.¹⁸³

His final consideration was the strength and power of the British military forces, Army, Navy, and Air Force:

...the Royal Navy...strained every nerve to embark the British and Allied troops; 220 light warships and 650 other vessels were engaged....The Royal Air Force engaged the main strength of the German Air Force, and inflicted upon them losses of at least four to one; and the Navy, using nearly 1,000 ships of all kinds, carried over 335,000 men, French and British, out of the jaws of death and shame...¹⁸⁴

...in these battles our losses in men have exceeded 30,000 killed, wounded and missing.... We have perhaps lost one-third of the men we lost in the opening days of the battle of 21st March, 1918, but we have lost nearly as many guns--nearly one thousand--and all our transport, all the armored vehicles that were with the Army in the north.¹⁸⁵

Authority. Churchill used a great deal of evidence but made few references to authority. He referred to the French High Command in his opening: "The French High Command hoped they would be able to close the gap, and the Armies of the north were under their

¹⁸²Ibid., p.290. ¹⁸³Ibid., p.291. ¹⁸⁴Ibid., p.292.

¹⁸⁵Ibid. n.294.

orders."¹⁸⁶ A second allusion to authority was to the King of Belgium: "The King of the Belgians had called upon us to come to his aid..."¹⁸⁷

Sign. The Prime Minister did make use of argument from sign. In two places he urged the House, interestingly enough, not to indulge in argument from sign, i.e. to draw conclusions which did not follow: "I asked the House a week ago to suspend its judgment because the facts were not clear...."¹⁸⁸ "We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory."¹⁸⁹ Using an argument from sign he lauded the evacuation crews for their work at Dunkirk: "The numbers they have brought back are the measure of their devotion."¹⁹⁰ He later used argument from sign to demonstrate the strength of the air groups:

Can you conceive a greater objective for the Germans in the air than to make evacuation from these beaches impossible, and to sink all these ships which were displayed, almost to the extent of thousands? They tried hard, and they were beaten back; they were frustrated in their task.... All of our types—the Hurricanes, the Spitfire and the new Defiant—and all our pilots have been vindicated as superior to what they have at present to face.¹⁹¹

In another argument from sign Churchill told the Nation that it could rely on a certain degree of intrinsic security:

When we consider how much greater would be our advantage in defending the air above this Island against an overseas attack, I must say that I find in these facts a sure basis upon which practical and reassuring thoughts may rest.¹⁹²

Assumption. Churchill used argument from assumption to point

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p.289. ¹⁸⁷Ibid., p.290. ¹⁸⁸Ibid., p.291.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., p. 292. ¹⁹⁰Ibid. ¹⁹¹Ibid., p.293.

¹⁹²Ibid.

out that if Belgium and other countries had called upon or joined themselves with the Allied nations earlier there might have been no conflict;

The King of the Belgians had called upon us to come to his aid. Had not this Ruler and his Government severed themselves from the Allies, who rescued their country from extinction in the late war, and had they not sought refuge in what has proved to be a fatal neutrality, the French and British Armies might well at the outset have saved not only Belgium but perhaps even Poland.¹⁹³

He also made three assumptions with regard to the British endurance capacity in the continuing conflict: "Against this loss of over 30,000 men, we can set a far heavier loss certainly inflicted upon the enemy."¹⁹⁴ "The British Empire and the French Republic, lined together in their cause and in their need, will defend to the death their native soil, aiding each other like good comrades to the utmost of their strength."¹⁹⁵

Logos--artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. Churchill made several generalizations in "Dunkirk" in regards to the past, the present, and the future. One of the first of these was on the character of the Germans:

Behind this armored and mechanized onslaught came a number of German divisions in lorries, and behind them again there plodded comparatively slowly the dull brute mass of the ordinary German Army and the German people, always so ready to be led to the trampling down in other lands of liberties and comforts which they have never known in their own.¹⁹⁶

From the British Air Force victories over Dunkirk he drew another

¹⁹³Ibid., p.291. ¹⁹⁴Ibid., p.294. ¹⁹⁵Ibid., p.297.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., pp.289-90.

generalization: "All of our types—the Hurricane, the Spitfire and the new Defiant—and all our pilots have been vindicated as superior to what they have at present to face."¹⁹⁷ From the war in France he offered a generalization on the future:

The great French Army was very largely, for the time being, cast back and disturbed by the onrush of a few thousands of armored vehicles. May it not also be that the cause of civilisation itself will be defended by the skill and devotion of a few thousand airmen?¹⁹⁸

Orders had been given to move people of uncertain loyalties from areas where there was the possibility of invasion. In defense of these orders Churchill offered another generalization:

I know there are a great many people effected by the orders which we have made who are passionate enemies of Nazi Germany.... If parachute landings were attempted and fierce fighting attendant upon them followed, these unfortunate people would be far better out of the way, for their own sakes as well as for ours.¹⁹⁹

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. The Prime Minister showed a causal relationship between the defense of Calais and the success of the evacuation:

The British Brigadier was given an hour to surrender. He spurned the offer.... Only 30 unounded survivors were brought off by the Navy.... Their sacrifice, however, was not in vain. At least two armored divisions, which otherwise would have been turned against the British Expeditionary Force, had to be sent to overcome them.²⁰⁰

The surrender of Leopold also had a causal effect upon the British fighting in France:

Suddenly, without prior consultation, with the least possible notice, without the advice of his Minister and upon his own personal act, he sent a plenipotentiary to the German Command,

¹⁹⁷Ibid., p.293. ¹⁹⁸Ibid. ¹⁹⁹Ibid., p.296. ²⁰⁰Ibid., p.290.

surrendered his Army, and exposed our whole flank and means of retreat....So in doing this and exposing this flank...contact was lost between the British and two out of the three corps forming the First French Army...²⁰¹

Arguing from causation, Churchill gave additional reasons why the evacuation from Dunkirk had been possible; "The enemy was hurled back by the retreating British and French troops. He was so roughly handled that he did not hurry their departure seriously."²⁰²

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. Churchill made three analogous comparisons and used them as proof; in the first he compared the British pilots to the Knights of the Round Table:

The Knights of the Round Table, the Crusaders, all fall back into the past—not only distant but prosaic; these young men going forth every morn to guard their native land and all that we stand for, holding in their hands these instruments of colossal and shattering power, of whom it may be said that

"Every morn brought forth a noble chance
And every chance brought forth a noble knight"²⁰³

The second analogy, as well as the third, dealt with the possibilities of invasion—World War II and 1800;

We are told that Herr Hitler has a plan for invading the British Isles. This has often been thought of before. When Napoleon lay at Boulogne for a year with his flat-bottomed boats and his Grand Army, he was told by someone, "There are bitter weeds in England." There are certainly a great many more of them since the British Expeditionary Force returned.²⁰⁴

In the days of Napoleon the same wind which would have carried his transports across the Channel might have driven away the blockading fleet. There was always the chance, and it is that chance which has excited and befooled the imaginations of many Continental tyrants.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ibid., p.291. ²⁰²ibid., p.292. ²⁰³ibid., p.293.

²⁰⁴ibid., p.295. ²⁰⁵ibid., p.296.

Deductive reasoning--argument from syllogism and enthymeme. There were a few enthymemes in this address. Churchill used one in giving assurance to the British people that some of the soldiers left in France would return;

We have had a large number of wounded come home safely to this country, but I would say about the missing that there may be very many reported missing who will come back home, some day, in one way or another.²⁰⁶

He used another enthymeme in discussing vital matters in the realm of the possibility of invasion;

The whole question of home defense against invasion is, of course, powerfully affected by the fact that we have for the time being in this Island incomparably more powerful military forces than we have ever had at any moment in this war or the last.²⁰⁷

Churchill did not wish to continue discussing important questions in open sessions of Parliament, and using argument by enthymeme he told his audience why;

It will be very convenient...to enter upon this subject in a secret Session. Not that the Government would necessarily be able to reveal in very great detail military secrets, but we like to have our discussions free, without the restraint imposed by the fact that they will be read the next day by the enemy...²⁰⁸

And he used an enthymeme to show the chances for a successful outcome for the Allies in the war;

I have, myself, full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our Island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone.²⁰⁹

²⁰⁶Ibid., p.294. ²⁰⁷Ibid., p.295. ²⁰⁸Ibid.

²⁰⁹Ibid., p.296.

Ethos

Sincerity. Churchill's use of sincerity was especially strong in his discussion of the war effort and the seriousness of the situation which confronted the nation. He did not try to conceal the problem or delude the people into thinking it was less important than it was. For example, he told the House, near the beginning of the address, about the message he thought he might have had to deliver before the evacuation at Dunkirk;

When, a week ago today, I asked the House to fix this afternoon as the occasion for a statement, I feared it would be my hard lot to announce the greatest military disaster in our long history...it certainly seemed that the whole of the French First Army and the whole of the British Expeditionary Force north of the Amiens-Abbeville gap would be broken up in the open field or else would have to capitulate for lack of food and ammunition. These were the hard and heavy tidings for which I called upon the House and nation to prepare themselves a week ago.²¹⁰

When he discussed the evacuation itself, although successful, he cautioned the English people: "We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. Wars are not won by evacuations."²¹¹ He later continued this thought: "...our thankfulness at the escape of our Army and so many men...must not blind us to the fact that what has happened in France and Belgium is a colossal military disaster."²¹² He even discussed the losses which had been inflicted upon the British forces;

...our losses in material are enormous...nearly one thousand guns --all our transport, all the armored vehicles that were with the Army in the north. This loss will impose a further delay on the expansion of our military strength. That expansion had not been proceeding as fast as we had hoped.²¹³

²¹⁰ibid., p.290. ²¹¹ibid., p.292. ²¹²ibid., p.295.

²¹³ibid., p.294.

On the question of invasion he commented;

Turning...to the question of invasion, I would observe that there has never been a period in all these long centuries of which we boast when an absolute guarantee against invasion, still less against raids, could have been given to our people.²¹⁴

Friendliness. He expressed friendliness toward the armed services and toward the men and women who were giving so much to the war effort:

The Royal Navy, with the willing help of countless merchant seamen, strained every nerve to embark the British and Allied troops.... The numbers they have brought back are the measure of their devotion and their courage.²¹⁵

"Capital and Labor have cast aside their interests, rights and customs and put them into the common stock."²¹⁶ Of the men who were left behind in France he said; "In the confusion of this fight it is inevitable that many have been left in positions where honor required no further resistance from them."²¹⁷ He also expressed a spirit of friendliness for the Belgian soldiers; "...all would have shared the fate to which King Leopold had condemned the finest Army his country had ever formed."²¹⁸ Then he spoke of the French; "We shall not be content with a defensive war. We have our duty to our Ally."²¹⁹ "The British Empire and the French Republic, lined together in their cause and in their need, will defend to the death their native soil, aiding each other like good comrades to the utmost of their strength."²²⁰

Sympathy. Churchill had sympathy for those who had lost loved ones in the battles in France;

I take occasion to express the sympathy of the House to all who have

²¹⁴Ibid., p.296.

²¹⁵Ibid., p.292.

²¹⁶Ibid., p.294.

²¹⁷Ibid.

²¹⁸Ibid., p.292.

²¹⁹Ibid., p.295.

²²⁰Ibid., p.296.

suffered bereavement or who are still anxious. The President of the Board of Trade is not here today. His son has been killed, and many in the House have felt the pangs of affliction in the sharpest form.²²¹

And he said to those patriotic people who were effected by the relocation orders:

I know there are a great many people affected by the orders which we have made who are the passionate enemies of Nazi Germany. I am very sorry for them, but we cannot, at the present time and under the present stress, draw all the distinctions which we should like to do.²²²

Knowledge of subject. Churchill's knowledge of his subject was clearly demonstrated by his extensive quotation of statistics and military reports as he spoke of the Army movements and positions in France, Belgium, and Dunkirk. He also understood conditions in the homes of England where many sons, etc. were missing and conditions in the factories where production was not meeting demand.

Devotion to cause. His devotion to his cause was best presented in his final passages. In one of these passages he told the nation:

...we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender...²²³

Pathos

Mildness. The Prime Minister demonstrated mildness toward the King of the Belgians, even though the evacuation had been rendered more hazardous because of his surrender. He urged the House to suspend its judgment until all was clear regardless of how it may

²²¹Ibid., p.294. ²²²Ibid., p.296. ²²³Ibid., p.297.

have felt about Leopold's surrender; "I asked the House a week ago to suspend its judgment because the facts were not clear..."²²⁴ He also used a certain amount of mildness in one reference to the enemy who had done so much damage; "...very large formations of German aeroplanes—and we know that they are a very brave race..."²²⁵

Love and friendship. Churchill spoke with deepest friendship and admiration for the British airmen;

...these young men going forth every morn to guard their native land and all that we stand for, holding in their hands these instruments of colossal and shattering power...deserve our gratitude, as do all of the brave men who, in so many ways and on so many occasions are ready and continue ready, to give life and all for their native land.²²⁶

Indirectly he expressed a feeling of love and friendship for those who had returned from France;

...our thankfulness at the escape of our Army and so many men, whose loved ones have passed through an agonizing week, must not blind us to the fact that what has happened in France and Belgium is a colossal military disaster.²²⁷

Enmity and hatred. There was little use of enmity and hatred in "Dunkirk". However, he did use some when he spoke of the fifth column operating in Britain;

There is...another class, for which I feel not the slightest sympathy. Parliament has given us the powers to put down Fifth Column activities with a strong hand, and we shall use those powers...without the slightest hesitation until we are satisfied, and more than satisfied, that this malignancy in our midst has been effectively stamped out.²²⁸

He also referred to the enemy with a measure of enmity and discussed the "odious apparatus of Nazi rule."²²⁹

²²⁴Ibid., p.292. ²²⁵Ibid., p.293. ²²⁶Ibid.

²²⁷Ibid., p.295. ²²⁸Ibid., p.296. ²²⁹Ibid., p.297.

Confidence. Churchill spoke of the future with confidence;

Already the flow of munitions has leaped forward. There is no reason why we should not in a few months overtake the sudden and serious loss that has come upon us, without retarding the development of our general program.²³⁰

And he confidently spoke of Britain's ability to meet an invasion;

We must never forget the solid assurances of sea power and those which belong to air power if it can be locally exercised.

I have myself, full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our Island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone.²³¹

But even if Britain were to fall he said he would still believe in eventual liberation;

...even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.²³²

Emulation. There were several examples of conduct which could be emulated; one of these was the defense of Calais;

The Rifle Brigade, the 60th Rifles, and the Queen Victoria's Rifles, with a battalion of British tanks and 1,000 Frenchmen... defended Calais to the last. The British Brigadier was given an hour to surrender. He spurned the offer, and four days of intense street fighting passed before silence reigned over Calais, which marked the end of a memorable resistance.... They have added another page to the glories of the light divisions...²³³

The men and women who helped in the evacuation of Dunkirk too could have been emulated;

...the Royal Navy, with the willing help of countless seamen,

²³⁰Ibid., pp.294-5. ²³¹Ibid., p.296. ²³²Ibid., p.297.

²³³Ibid., p.290.

strained every nerve to embark the British and Allied troops.... They had to operate upon the difficult coast, often in adverse weather, under an almost ceaseless hail of bombs and an increasing concentration of artillery fire. Nor were the seas...themselves free from mines and torpedoes. It was in conditions such as these that our men carried on, with little or no rest, for days and nights on end, making trip after trip across the waters, bringing with them always men whom they had rescued....The hospital ships, which brought off many thousands of British and French wounded, being so plainly marked were a special target for Nazi bombs; but the men and women on board them never faltered in their duty.²³⁴

ARRANGEMENT

The speech was organized into the four divisions of proem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The proem dealt with the background of the evacuation, the German advance, and the surrender of Leopold. The statement continued with a consideration of the evacuation and the air combat victories resultant therefrom, the bravery of the soldiers, the effectiveness of British planes and equipment, the possibility of invasion, and the question of relocation of aliens. In support of his statement Churchill's argument showed the dangers of invasion and the issues both for and against its possibility. His argument also dealt with the necessity of cracking down on the alien and "unsure" groups within the British Isles. The epilogue phrased the dedication of England and her decision to fight on for her cause even in the streets of London if necessary!

STYLE

Level. The style level was middle. "Dunkirk" fitted into the middle category of style because of its greater preponderance of unadorned reporting and plain discussion. There was use of figurative

²³⁴Ibid., p.292.

language but most of it came in the epilogue and in only one or two places in the statement. The thought was easy to understand, simple and to the point without a great deal of effort at stylization.

Diction and word choice. The words were all Anglo-Saxon and there was a great distribution of both poly-syllabic and mono-syllabic word structure. The language was concrete with little use of the abstract.

Sentence structure. The sentences in "Dunkirk" were mostly complex and there were many compound and simple and a few compound-complex. However the complex type predominated. A sample paragraph illustrated this:

The enemy attacked on all sides with great strength and fierceness, and their main power, the power of their far more numerous Air Force, was thrown into the battle or else concentrated upon Dunkirk and the beaches. Pressing in upon the narrow exit, both from the east and from the west, the enemy began to fire with cannon upon the beaches by which alone the shipping could approach or depart. They sowed magnetic mines in the channels and seas; they sent repeated waves of hostile aircraft, sometimes more than a hundred strong in one formation, to cast their bombs upon the single pier that remained, and upon the sand dunes upon which the troops had their eyes for shelter. Their U-boats, one of which was sunk, and their motor launches took their toll of the vast traffic which now began. For four or five days an intense struggle reigned. All their armored divisions--or what was left of them--together with great masses of infantry and artillery, hurled themselves in vain upon the ever-narrowing, ever-contracting appendix within which the British and French Armies fought.²³⁵

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Imagery. The address contained some imagery, most of it visual. However, there were one or two examples of auditory and kinesthetic imagery. Several imageric phrases emerged from Churchill's

²³⁵Ibid., pp.291-2.

description of the battle in France; "The French High Command hoped they would be able to close the gap..."²³⁶, "Behind this armored and mechanized onslaught..."²³⁷, "...led into an ignominious and starving captivity."²³⁸, "...we must expect another blow to be struck..."²³⁹; he used auditory imagery when he spoke of the battle of Calais; "...four days of intense street fighting passed before silence reigned over Calais..."²⁴⁰. He used this type of imagery again when he discussed the success of the evacuation; "...the scene had cleared, the crash and thunder had for the moment...died away."²⁴¹ There was kinesthetic imagery involved when he said, speaking of the losses of men in the battle; "...many in the House have felt the pangs of affliction in the sharpest form."²⁴²

Acclamation. He used a great deal of acclamation; "...fine Belgian Army..."²⁴³, "memorable resistance..."²⁴⁴, "...brave, efficient Army, nearly half a million strong..."²⁴⁵, "The numbers that they have brought back are the measure of their devotion and courage."²⁴⁶, "...we know they are a very brave race..."²⁴⁷, "I will pay my tribute to these young airmen."²⁴⁸, "...gallant Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gort."²⁴⁹

Literary quotation. There were a few references to historical or literary materials. In speaking of the opportunities which the

²³⁶Ibid., p.289. ²³⁷Ibid. ²³⁸Ibid., p.291. ²³⁹Ibid., p.295.
²⁴⁰Ibid., p.290. ²⁴¹Ibid., p.292. ²⁴²Ibid., p.294.
²⁴³Ibid., p.289. ²⁴⁴Ibid., p.290. ²⁴⁵Ibid., p.291.
²⁴⁶Ibid., p.292. ²⁴⁷Ibid., p.293. ²⁴⁸Ibid. ²⁴⁹Ibid., p.295.

war would present to the airmen he said:

There never has been, I suppose, in all the world, in all the history of war, such opportunity for youth. The Knights of the Round Table, the Crusaders, all fall back into the past...

"Every morn brought forth a noble chance
And every chance brought forth a noble knight"²⁵⁰

Later he referred to Napoleon and the proposed invasion of the 19th century:

When Napoleon lay at Boulogne for a year with his flat-bottomed boats and his Grand Army, he was told by someone, "There are bitter weeds in England."

.....
In the days of Napoleon the same wind which would have carried his transports across the Channel might have driven away the blockading fleet.²⁵¹

Epigram. Churchill used few epigrams, though the speech was comparatively long: "Wars are not won by evacuations."²⁵² "...if necessary for years, if necessary alone."²⁵³ His epigrams have since become famous.

Irony and satire. He employed irony when he discussed Napoleon:

When Napoleon lay at Boulogne for a year with his flat-bottomed boats and his Grand Army, he was told by someone, "There are bitter weeds in England." There are certainly a great many more of them since the British Expeditionary Force returned.²⁵⁴

Metaphor. For purposes of word and phrase effect he used metaphor occasionally: "...dull brute mass of the ordinary German Army and German people..."²⁵⁵. He said of the defenders of Calais: "They have added another page to the glories of the light divisions...."²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰Ibid., p.293. ²⁵¹Ibid., pp.295,296. ²⁵²Ibid., p.292.

²⁵³Ibid., p.296. ²⁵⁴Ibid., p.295. ²⁵⁵Ibid., p.289.

²⁵⁶Ibid., p.290.

He spoke of the British Expeditionary Force as; "The whole root and core and brain of the British Army...."²⁵⁷ The Germans, he told his audience, "Sowed magnetic mines in the channels...they sent repeated waves of hostile aircraft..."²⁵⁸ He also used metaphor in reference to the rescue of the Allied soldiers; "...out of the jaws of death and shame."²⁵⁹ The British Isles would have been able "to ride out the storm of war,"²⁶⁰ he said, and despite the many other nations that had "fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo."²⁶¹

Simile. There were very few examples of simile present. Perhaps the best illustration of this figure came when he spoke of the German invasion of France; "...the German eruption swept like a sharp scythe...."²⁶²

Alliteration. He made use of alliteration on several occasions in the address; "...rapid retreat..."²⁶³ "...scythe-stroke..."²⁶⁴, "...British Brigadier..."²⁶⁵, "...hard and heavy tidings..."²⁶⁶, "...sudden and serious loss..."²⁶⁷ "...flat-bottomed boats..."²⁶⁸, "...malignancy in our midst..."²⁶⁹, "...flag or fail..."²⁷⁰.

Anaphora and epistrophe. In several places he took advantage of anaphora. For example, he said that the German invasion and break through "almost reached Dunkirk—almost but not quite."²⁷¹ He used

²⁵⁷Ibid., p.291. ²⁵⁸Ibid. ²⁵⁹Ibid., p.292. ²⁶⁰Ibid., p.296.

²⁶¹Ibid., p.297. ²⁶²Ibid., p.289. ²⁶³Ibid. ²⁶⁴Ibid., p.290.

²⁶⁵Ibid. ²⁶⁶Ibid. ²⁶⁷Ibid., p.295. ²⁶⁸Ibid. ²⁶⁹Ibid., p.296.

²⁷⁰Ibid., p.297. ²⁷¹Ibid., p.290.

it again in later passages as well; "...by valour, by perseverance, by perfect discipline, by faultless service, by resource, by skill, by unconquerable fidelity...."²⁷²

We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender...²⁷³

Synecdoche and metonymy. "Dunkirk" contained both synecdoche and metonymy. Using synecdoche, he spoke about the conflict in France where an effort was made to "keep on holding the right hand of the Belgians and to give their own right hand to a newly created French Army...."²⁷⁴ He discussed in several places the duty of the "House" to carry out war affairs, etc. Churchill also mentioned the beaches of Dunkirk and "the sand dunes upon which the troops had their eyes for shelter."²⁷⁵ Using metonymy he talked of "Capital and Labor" having joined into a common union.²⁷⁶ And he urged the necessity of searching all questions on invasion "with a steady eye."²⁷⁷

Hyperbole. The Prime Minister used hyperbole for exaggerated emphasis. He told his audience that the Belgians let the British know they were surrendering "at the last moment...."²⁷⁸ In other passages he said; "...countless merchant seamen, strained every nerve..."²⁷⁹ "All of our types—the Hurricane, the Spitfire and the new Defiant—

²⁷²Ibid., p.292. ²⁷³Ibid., p.297. ²⁷⁴Ibid., p.289.

²⁷⁵Ibid., p.292. ²⁷⁶Ibid., p.295. ²⁷⁷Ibid., p.296.

²⁷⁸Ibid., p.291. ²⁷⁹Ibid., p.292.

and all our pilots have been vindicated as superior to what they have at present to face."²⁸⁰

Climax. Churchill used climax to conclude his address:

...we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.²⁸¹

III. THEIR FINEST HOUR

INVENTION

Logos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. This particular address used much statistical evidence, especially in relation to men and military supplies. In the opening lines of the speech Churchill discussed the fall of France and the evacuation of Dunkirk and he provided foundation for his discussion by references to the numbers of British and French soldiers saved and lost: "Our Army and 120,000 French troops were indeed rescued by the British Navy from Dunkirk, but only with the loss of their canon, vehicles and modern equipment."²⁸² Of the numbers of British rescued, he said; "...seven-eighths of the troops we have sent to France since the beginning of the war--that is to

²⁸⁰ Ibid., p.293.

²⁸¹ Ibid., p.281.

²⁸² Ibid., p.305.

say, about 350,000 out of 400,000 men—are safely back in this country.”²⁸³ Expanding further, he pointed out to the House of Commons:

Lest the account which I have given of these large forces should raise the question; Why did they not take part in the great battle in France? I must make it clear that, apart from the divisions training and organizing at home, only 12 divisions were equipped to fight upon a scale which justified their being sent abroad.²⁸⁴

Churchill then turned from the battle in France to an analysis of the armed forces which Britain could muster for home defense:

We have under arms at the present time in this Island over a million and a quarter men. Behind these we have the Local Defense Volunteers, numbering half a million, only a portion of whom, however, are yet armed with rifles or other firearms.²⁸⁵

He sought to answer the question of invasion and build up morale at the same time with evidence taken from the past as contrasted to the present:

[During the last war] this Island was for several months practically denuded of fighting troops. The Admiralty had confidence at that time in their ability to prevent a mass invasion even though at that time the Germans had a magnificent battle fleet in the proportion of 10 to 16, even though they were capable of fighting a general engagement every day and any day, whereas now they have only a couple of heavy ships worth speaking of—the “Scharnhorst” and the “Gneisenau”.²⁸⁶

As a final assurance to the people of Britain he discussed the Air Force:

We have a very powerful Air Force which has proved itself far superior in quality, both in men and in many types of machine, to what we have met so far in the numerous and fierce air battles which have been fought with the Germans. In France...we were accustomed to inflict in the air losses of as much as two to

²⁸³Ibid., p.306. ²⁸⁴Ibid., p.307. ²⁸⁵Ibid.

²⁸⁶Ibid., p.308.

two-and-a-half to one. In the fighting over Dunkirk...we undoubtedly beat the German Air Force...inflicting here a loss of three or four to one day after day.²⁸⁷

His speech, in terms of its evidence, closed on a note of warning:

In what way has our position worsened since the beginning of the war? It has worsened by the fact that the Germans have conquered a large part of the coast line of Western Europe, and many small countries have been overrun by them. This aggravates the possibilities of air attack and adds to our naval preoccupations.²⁸⁸

Authority. As in the case of evidence, Churchill also used much material outside of his personal experience. His outside authority included professional advisers: "I can assure them that our professional advisers of the three Services unitedly advise that we should carry on the war, and that there are good and reasonable hopes of final victory."²⁸⁹ His reference to authority also included the Prime Ministers of the overseas Dominions:

We have fully consulted them, and I have received from their Prime Ministers, Mr. Mackenzie King of Canada, Mr. Menzies of Australia, Mr. Fraser of New Zealand, and General Smuts of South Africa...I have received from all these eminent men... messages couched in the most moving terms in which they endorse our decision to fight on, and declare themselves ready to share our fortunes and to persevere to the end.²⁹⁰

Churchill's final reference was to the declaration of alliance with France:

The House will have read the historic declaration in which, at the desire of many Frenchmen—and of our own hearts—we have proclaimed our willingness at the darkest hour in French history to conclude a union of common citizenship in this struggle.²⁹¹

²⁸⁷Ibid., p.309. ²⁸⁸Ibid., p.312. ²⁸⁹Ibid., p.311.

²⁹⁰Ibid., p.312. ²⁹¹Ibid., p.313.

Sign. The next type of non-artistic proof which Churchill used was that of argument from sign. However, he relied much less heavily upon sign and as a result there were only one or two examples in the entire address. Perhaps the most clear of these arguments was that in which he forecast the Battle of Britain as the Battle of France ended: "What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect the Battle of Britain is about to begin."²⁹² The second example to which reference could be made came near the beginning of the speech when Churchill urged the British people to examine the photographs of the Dunkirk evacuation and draw their conclusions therefrom:

Anyone who looks at the photographs which were published a week or so ago of the re-embarkation, showing the masses of troops assembled on the beach and forming an ideal target for hours at a time, must realize that this re-embarkation would not have been possible unless the enemy had resigned all hope of recovering air superiority at that time and at that place.²⁹³

Assumption. The final mode of non-artistic proof was that of assumption. The speech was built upon one very fundamental assumption—that the British nation could withstand the rigors of war and bear itself nobly. At the time that Churchill assumed this he offered a second assumption in relation to Hitler's policies: "Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war."²⁹⁴ And finally he drew the assumption that Britain could not be invaded until the Air Force had been destroyed: "It seems quite clear that no invasion on a scale beyond the capacity of our

²⁹²Ibid., p.314. ²⁹³Ibid., p.310. ²⁹⁴Ibid., p.314.

land forces to crush speedily is likely to take place from the air until our Air Force has been definitely overpowered."²⁹⁵

Logos--artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. "Their Finest Hour" opened with a generalization regarding the reasons for the last war in France:

I spoke the other day of the colossal military disaster which occurred when the French High Command failed to withdraw the northern Armies from Belgium at the moment when they knew that the French front was decisively broken at Sedan and on the Meuse. This delay entailed the loss of fifteen or sixteen French divisions and threw out of action for the critical period the whole of the British Expeditionary Force....This loss inevitably took some weeks to repair, and in the first two of those weeks the battle in France had been lost. When we consider the heroic resistance made by the French Army against heavy odds in this battle, the enormous losses inflicted upon the enemy and the evident exhaustion of the enemy, it may well be thought that these 25 divisions of the best-trained and best-equipped troops might have turned the scale.²⁹⁶

The fact that the Nazi regime would be stronger, believed Churchill, did not mean that it still could not be met and defeated:

...it seems to me that as far as sea-borne invasion on a great scale is concerned, we are far more capable of meeting it today than we were at many periods in the last war and during the early months of this war, before our other troops were trained, and while the B.E.F. had proceeded abroad.²⁹⁷

In other words, it was Churchill's thought that the generalization could be drawn from the specifics of the existing situation in Britain to the general that England was well prepared to meet an invading foe or at least better prepared than at any other time in British history.

²⁹⁵Ibid., p.309. ²⁹⁶Ibid., p.305. ²⁹⁷Ibid., p.308.

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. Two things had happened of great significance during the war which might have changed its direction or its density. Italy had entered the war and France had fallen. Churchill said of the entrance of Italy into the war: "...the entrance of Italy into the war increases the power of our long-distance blockade. We have stopped the worst leak by that."²⁹⁸ So it was that the entrance of Italian Armies into France was in reality, in a strange way, a help. But at the same time France had fallen or almost so;

We do not know whether military resistance will come to an end in France or not, but should it do so, then of course the Germans will be able to concentrate their forces, both military and industrial, upon us.²⁹⁹

The fall of France freed the Germans for a potential renewed effort against Britain.

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. In the speech there was only one analogy and that was an analogy of time in which a comparison was drawn between the war conditions of World War I and those of World War II:

During the first four years of the last war the Allies experienced nothing but disaster and disappointment. That was our constant fear; one blow after another, terrible losses, frightful danger. Everything miscarried. And yet at the end of those four years the morale of the Allies was higher than that of the Germans, who had moved from one aggressive triumph to another, and who stood everywhere triumphant invaders of the lands into which they had broken. During that war we repeatedly asked ourselves the question; How are we going to win? and no one was able ever to answer it with much precision until at the end, quite suddenly, quite unexpectedly, our terrible foe collapsed before us...³⁰⁰

²⁹⁸Ibid., p.312. ²⁹⁹Ibid. ³⁰⁰Ibid., p.313.

Deductive reasoning--argument from syllogism and enthymeme.

There was no use of the formal syllogism in the speech although there was quite extensive use of the enthymeme. Churchill established a pattern of forward perspective and a policy of letting the past lie where it had fallen. He told his fellow countrymen: "If we open a quarrel between the past and the present we shall find that we have lost the future."³⁰¹ In carrying this thought on to an application to the Government itself he employed another enthymeme:

It is absolutely necessary at a time like this that every Minister who tries each day to do his duty shall be respected; and their subordinates must know that their chiefs are not threatened men, men who are here today and gone tomorrow, but that their directions must be punctually and faithfully obeyed.³⁰²

"...I made it perfectly clear...that whatever happened in France would make no difference to the resolve of Britain and the British Empire to fight on, 'if necessary for years, if necessary alone!'"³⁰³ Here he promoted a rule of policy and conduct, this time in relation to the total war effort. In another passage later in the address he added still another enthymeme of this type:

If we are now called upon to endure what they have been suffering, we shall emulate their courage, and if final victory rewards our toils they shall share the gains, aye, and freedom shall be restored to all."³⁰⁴

The essence of this syllogism, in which he spoke of the French, lay in the closing promise of the restoration of freedom.

³⁰¹Ibid., p.306. ³⁰²Ibid. ³⁰³Ibid. ³⁰⁴Ibid., pp.313-14.

Ethos

Sincerity. There was a note of sincerity which permeated the entire speech as Churchill evaluated and "cast up the dread balance sheet" of the situation in which Britain found itself after the fall of France. Too, he showed a sincere approach to his cause and to the past failures of the war effort. An attack had opened in the House on the policies of the previous Government and its responsibility for the development of German war power. As this attack progressed an investigation of several of the previous Governments was suggested, to which Churchill replied: "This...would be a foolish and pernicious process. There are too many in it. Let each man search his conscience and search his speeches. I frequently search mine."³⁰⁵ Another good example of sincerity was given when he spoke to the nation about the seriousness of its position:

We may now ask ourselves; In what way has our position worsened since the beginning of the war? It has worsened by the fact that the Germans have conquered a large part of the coast line of Western Europe, and many small countries have been overrun by them. This aggravates the possibilities of air attack and adds to our naval preoccupations.³⁰⁶

He laid before the people and the Parliament the situation as it existed without trying to hide its urgency.

Friendliness. There was no friendliness toward the enemy but there was an expression of friendliness for the British people who were fighting the war, and for the French people who were suffering

³⁰⁵Ibid., p.306. ³⁰⁶Ibid., p.312.

the fate of losing that war. To the Air Force, for example, he said: "I look forward confidently to the exploits of our fighter pilots—these splendid men, this brilliant youth—who will have the glory of saving their native land, their island home, and all they love..."³⁰⁷ To the French people he promised eternal friendship:

However matters may go in France or with the French Government, or other French Governments, we in this Island and in the British Empire will never lose our sense of comradeship with the French people.³⁰⁸

Knowledge of subject. A knowledge of the subject was clearly demonstrated by his understanding and use of military statistics and placements. He expressed a familiarity with the number of men rescued from Dunkirk, the exact strength of the Navy, the Air Force, the Homeguard, and the innumerable ways in which an invasion could be launched against the British Isles.³⁰⁹

Devotion to cause. Churchill evinced a devotion to his cause in "Their Finest Hour" when he told the nation how much he was willing to sacrifice if that cause failed:

There are a good many people who say, "Never mind, Win or lose, sink or swim, better die than submit to tyranny—and such a tyranny." And I do not dissociate myself from them. But I can assure them that our professional advisers of the three Services unitedly advise that we should carry on the war, and that there are good and reasonable hopes of final victory.³¹⁰

Pathos

Mildness. The use of mildness in "Their Finest Hour" was illustrated by Churchill's consideration of the failure of the forces

³⁰⁷Ibid., p.311. ³⁰⁸Ibid., p.313. ³⁰⁹Ibid., p.305.

³¹⁰Ibid., p.311.

in France. He listed the strategic reasons for this failure and then he laid them aside without malice:

I am not reciting these facts for the purpose of recrimination. That I judge to be utterly futile and even harmful. We cannot afford it. I recite them in order to explain why it was we did not have, as we could have had, between twelve and fourteen British divisions fighting in the line in this great battle instead of only three. Now I put all this aside. I put it on the shelf, from which the historians, when they have time, will select their documents to tell their stories.³¹¹

Love and friendship. When he spoke of the overseas Dominions a strong element of love and friendship entered into Churchill's discussion. The following possessed such a sentiment;

We have fully informed and consulted all the self-governing Dominions, these great communities far beyond the oceans who have been built upon our laws and on our civilization, and who are absolutely free to choose their course, but inspired by the same emotions which lead me to stake our all upon duty and honor.... I have received from all these eminent men... messages couched in the most moving terms in which they endorse our decision to fight on, and declare themselves ready to share our fortunes and to persevere to the end.³¹²

Enmity and hatred. The enmity and hatred in the speech were strongly expressed in Churchill's references to the enemy: "...the enemy is crafty and cunning and full of novel treacheries and stratagems..."³¹³, "If Hitler can bring under his despotic control... its cruel heel...all their ruthlessness..."³¹⁴ In reference to a Nazi victory he said that the world "will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science."³¹⁵

Confidence. A great deal of confidence was manifested in the

³¹¹ Ibid., p.305. ³¹² Ibid., pp.311-12. ³¹³ Ibid., p.309.

³¹⁴ Ibid., pp.312-14. ³¹⁵ Ibid., p.314.

address, especially with regard to Britain's defenses:

We also have a great system of minefields, recently strongly reinforced, through which we alone know the channels. If the enemy tries to sweep passages through these minefields, it will be the task of the Navy to destroy the mine-sweepers and any other forces employed to protect them. There should be no difficulty in this, owing to our great superiority at sea.³¹⁶

In this same tone he continued his discussion of the Services: "I look forward confidently to the exploits of our fighter pilots..."³¹⁷, "...our professional advisers of the three Services unitedly advise...that there are good and reasonable hopes of final victory."³¹⁸

Indignation. In reference to the First World War and the peace resultant therefrom he became indignant, blaming it, to a degree, for the Second World War: "...quite suddenly, quite unexpectedly, our terrible foe collapsed before us, and we were so glutted with victory that in our folly we threw it away."³¹⁹

Emulation. Churchill used emulation to encourage the British people when it came their turn to suffer and bear the horrors which the war brought; he urged them to emulate their French Allies when he told them: "If we are now called upon to endure what they have been suffering, we shall emulate their courage, and if final victory rewards our toils they shall share the gains...."³²⁰ Then he told them to behave as another brave group of men had behaved, the men of Barcelona;

I do not at all underrate the severity of the ordeal which lies before us; but I believe our countrymen will show themselves

³¹⁶Ibid., p.309. ³¹⁷Ibid., p.311. ³¹⁸Ibid.

³¹⁹Ibid., p.313. ³²⁰Ibid.

capable of standing up to it, like the brave men of Barcelona, and will be able to stand up to it, and carry on in spite of it...³²¹

Contempt. The Prime Minister very contemptuously referred to the Italian Navy; using a touch of irony and with a verbal smile he said of them;

We are also told that the Italian Navy is to come out and gain sea superiority in these waters. If they seriously intend it, I shall only say that we shall be delighted to offer Signor Mussolini a free and safeguarded passage through the Straits of Gibraltar in order that he may play the part to which he aspires.³²²

ARRANGEMENT

This address broke down quite easily into the four divisions of arrangement which Aristotle offered, i.e. proem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The introduction in this particular speech opened with an consideration of the disaster at Dunkirk and the loss of the battle in France. From this point Churchill moved on to the home situation where, as statement, he posed the necessity of solidarity in Government. He next advanced arguments which dealt with the seriousness of the invasion threat. To his audience he said that such an invasion would be very difficult because: 1, the Expeditionary Force was home again; 2, the Navy was ready and able to meet it; 3, the Air Force had already defeated the Germans and could do so again; 4, overseas aid was pouring into the Isles in increasing amounts. The final division of the speech was the epilogue. Here Churchill summarized his

³²¹Ibid., p.311. ³²²Ibid., p.308.

arguments for and against invasion and closed by telling the English people that upon their dedication depended the whole of civilisation and by calling them to bear themselves nobly in the face of all trials.

STYLE

Level. Taken on the basis of its entire content, the style of "Their Finest Hour" was middle. Much of the statement and argument dealt with straight fact and data. The sentence structure was simple and for the most part unadorned with extensive use of figurative phrases; this was especially true of the first part of the speech when Churchill was using statistics and military information. The last part of the address, or the epilogue, did rise to the sublime for here the author was concerned primarily with building dedication to a just cause and arousing his people's interest in a better tomorrow. In the epilogue he used much flowing language, and stressed heavily the dramatic, the figurative, the inspiring. One might have said that it began on the middle level and concluded in the sublime.

Miction and word choice. The word background was Anglo-Saxon for the entire speech and the words themselves, in structure, were mostly poly-syllabic. The words were not uncommon or beyond the level of understanding of the average Englishman. The speech itself was concrete and factual, especially during the first three divisions of arrangement. There was little use of the abstract or imaginative until the epilogue where the author employed such terms as "freedom," "liberation," "sunlit uplands," etc.

Sentence structure. All four kinds of sentence were employed, i.e. complex, simple, compound, and compound-complex, though the greater number of sentences were simple or complex and rather brief. The following paragraph was a good example of the way in which most of the speech was written with regard to sentence structure:

Of this I am quite sure, that if we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future. Therefore, I cannot accept the drawing of any distinctions between Members of the present Government. It was formed at a moment of crisis in order to unite all the Parties and all sections of opinion. It has received the almost unanimous support of both Houses of Parliament. Its Members are going to stand together, and, subject to the authority of the House of Commons, we are going to govern the country and fight the war. It is absolutely necessary at a time like this that every Minister who tries each day to do his duty shall be respected; and their subordinates must know that their chiefs are not threatened men, men who are here today and gone tomorrow, but that their directions must be punctually and faithfully obeyed, without this concentrated power we cannot face what lies before us. I should not think it would be very advantageous for the House to prolong this Debate this afternoon under conditions of public stress. Many facts are not clear that will be clear in a short time. We are to have a secret Session on Thursday, and I should think that would be a better opportunity for the many earnest expressions of opinion which Members will desire to make and for the House to discuss vital matters without having everything read the next morning by our dangerous foes.³²³

Here all four types of sentence were in evidence, though the greater number of them were either simple or complex.

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

There was use of figurative language, to a degree, throughout the entire speech, but most of it came in the epilogue.

Imagery. Several imageric phrases were used, most of them visual imagery. In one instance Churchill described the battle of

³²³ibid., p.305.

Dunkirk and the war in France and then he concluded by saying: "Now I put all this aside. I put it on the shelf, from which the historians, when they have time will select their documents to tell their stories."³²⁴ He then continued with other examples of visual imagery: "...if we open a quarrel between the past and the present we shall find that we have lost the future."³²⁵ Speaking of the proposed invasion he said, using both visual and kinesthetic imagery: "If it is of large size, then the Navy have something they can find and meet and, as it were, bite on!"³²⁶ Perhaps the most striking use of imagery came in the epilogue near the end of the final paragraph:

...the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail...all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science.³²⁷

Irony and satire. There was also occasional use of irony. For example, discussing the proposed German invasion, he said: "We should be able to give those gentry a warm reception."³²⁸ He commented on the Navy: "Here is where we come to the Navy--and after all--we have a Navy. Some people seem to forget that we have a Navy. We must remind them."³²⁹

Metaphor. Churchill used several metaphors, mostly in the latter part of the speech. There was "Dunkirk, which was a sort

³²⁴Ibid., p.305. ³²⁵Ibid., p.306. ³²⁶Ibid., p.308.

³²⁷Ibid., p.314. ³²⁸Ibid., p.310. ³²⁹Ibid., p.307.

of no-man's land..."³³⁰, and the fighter pilots, "...these splendid men, this brilliant youth...their native land, their Island home...."³³¹ He also used "Motherland," "native land," and "Island home" for the British Isles.³³²

Synecdoche. One example of synecdoche was employed when he used "cruel heel," or a part of the total "monster," to refer to the whole being.³³³

Interrogation and discourse. Churchill used simple interrogation at different points for emphasis; "why did they not take part in the great battle in France?"³³⁴ "In what way has our position worsened since the beginning of the war?"³³⁵ "During that war we repeatedly asked ourselves the question; How are we going to win?"³³⁶

Literary quote and reference. Another rhetorical device used was that of the literary quotation. Churchill, in setting a pattern of behavior for the English people, turned to literature;

"We nothing common did or mean,
Upon that memorable scene."³³⁷

Contrast. During the climactic buildup of the epilogue he employed contrast. He used it when he spoke of the difference of situation which the world would experience if the Allies won the war as opposed to that if they lost the war;

If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age...³³⁸

³³⁰Ibid., p.310.

³³¹Ibid., p.311.

³³²Ibid., p.312.

³³³Ibid.

³³⁴Ibid., p.307.

³³⁵Ibid., p.312.

³³⁶Ibid., p.313.

³³⁷Ibid., p.311.

³³⁸Ibid., p.314

Climax. He made use of climax to end the speech, "Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves, that , if the British Empire and Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour."339

IV. TRIBUTE TO NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN

INVENTION

Leges--non-artistic proof

Evidence. There was no use of statistics in Churchill's "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain", however, there was some use of historical fact and reference. The death of Chamberlain was in itself a fact;

Since we last met, the House has suffered a very grievous loss in the death of one of its most distinguished Members, and of a statesman and public servant who, during the best part of three memorable years, was first Minister of the Crown.340

Many of Churchill's other references to Chamberlain throughout the address could have been classified as evidence;

It fell to Neville Chamberlain in one of the supreme crises of the world to be contradicted by events, to be disappointed in his hopes, and to be deceived and cheated by a wicked man.341

I had the singular experience of passing in a day from being one of his most prominent opponents and critics to being one of his principal lieutenants, and on another day of passing from serving under him to become the head of a Government of which, with perfect loyalty, he was content to be a member.342

When he returned to duty a few weeks after a most severe operation, the bombardment of London and of the seat of Government had begun.... I can testify that, although physically only the

339 Ibid.

340 Winston S. Churchill, The Unrelenting Struggle (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), p. 3.

341 Ibid., p.4. 342 Ibid., p.5.

wreck of a man, his nerve was unshaken and his remarkable mental faculties unimpaired.³⁴³

After he left the Government he refused all honours....I sought permission of the King, however, to have him supplied with the Cabinet papers, and until a few days of his death he followed our affairs with keenness, interest and tenacity.³⁴⁴

Authority. Churchill made very few references to authority.

He alluded to Hitler in one passage and to Chamberlain in another:

"Herr Hitler protests with frantic words and gestures that he has only desired peace."³⁴⁵

When...the war came upon him, and when, as he himself said, all that he had worked for was shattered, there was no man more resolved to pursue the unsought quarrel to the death...he declared to me and to a few other friends that only a National Government could face the storm about to break upon us and that if he were an obstacle to the formation of such a Government, he would instantly retire.³⁴⁶

Sign. He used argument from sign at one point when he spoke of the judgment which the future would form of the present on the basis of its actions. From the sign of Britain's unpreparedness the future could have drawn a conclusion as to her high motives:

...however long the struggle may last, or however dark may be the clouds which overhang our path, no future generation of English-speaking folks—for that is the tribunal to which we appeal—will doubt that, even at a great cost to ourselves in technical preparation, we were guiltless of the bloodshed, terror and misery which have engulfed so many lands and peoples, and yet seek new victims still.³⁴⁷

Assumption. Churchill drew several assumptions, most of them in relation to Chamberlain: "Since we last met, the House has suffered a very greivous loss in the death of one of its most

³⁴³Ibid., pp.5-6. ³⁴⁴Ibid., p.6. ³⁴⁵Ibid., p.4.

³⁴⁶Ibid., p.5. ³⁴⁷Ibid., p.4.

distinguished Members...."348 "The fierce and bitter controversies which hung around him in recent times were hushed by the news of his illness and are silenced by his death."349

Whatever else history may or may not say about these terrible, tremendous years, we can be sure that Neville Chamberlain acted with perfect sincerity according to his lights and strove to the utmost of his capacity and authority, which were powerful, to save the world from the awful devastating struggle in which we are now engaged.³⁵⁰

Churchill offered one final assumption: "He met the approach of death with a steady eye."351

Logos—artistic proof

Inductive reasoning—argument from generalization. The Prime Minister made few generalizations in his "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain" and those which were made were made with reference to Chamberlain himself:

He had a physical and moral toughness of fibre which enabled him all through his varied career to endure misfortune and disappointment without being unduly discouraged or wearied. He had a precision of mind and an aptitude for business which raised him far above the ordinary levels of our generation. He had a firmness of spirit which was not often elated by success, seldom downcast by failure, and never swayed by panic.³⁵²

Churchill also generalized on the House's final feelings toward Chamberlain:

...we here assembled this morning, Members of all parties, without a single exception, feel that we do ourselves and our country honour in saluting the memory of one whom Disraeli would have called an "English worthy."³⁵³

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. There was only one example of argument from causation in the entire address and

³⁴⁸Ibid., p.3. ³⁴⁹Ibid. ³⁵⁰Ibid., p.4.

³⁵¹Ibid., p.6. ³⁵²Ibid., p.5. ³⁵³Ibid., p.6.

Churchill advanced it when he spoke about Chamberlain's dedication after war did come; "The same qualities which made him one of the last to enter the war, made him one of the last who would quit it before the full victory of a righteous cause was won."³⁵⁴

Inductive reasoning--argument from analogy. Churchill employed no argument from analogy in the address.

Deductive reasoning--argument from syllogism and enthymeme. Churchill used an enthymeme in speaking of history's verdict on Neville Chamberlain;

...Neville Chamberlain acted with perfect sincerity according to his lights and strove to the utmost of his capacity and authority, which were powerful, to save the world from the awful, devastating struggle in which we are now engaged. This alone will stand him in good stead as far as what is called the verdict of history is concerned.³⁵⁵

Ethos

Sincerity. The use which Churchill made of sincerity was demonstrated in one of his references to Chamberlain. He had opposed Chamberlain and his policies and yet, even though this speech was one of tribute, he did not deny this opposition;

In paying a tribute of respect and of regard to an eminent man who has been taken from us, no one is obliged to alter the opinions which he has formed or expressed upon issues which have become a part of history; but at the Lynchgate we may all pass our own conduct and our own judgments under a searching review.³⁵⁶

He called Chamberlain a man of sincerity; "Whatever else history may or may not say about these terrible, tremendous years, we can be sure that Neville Chamberlain acted with perfect sincerity..."³⁵⁷

³⁵⁴Ibid., p.5. ³⁵⁵Ibid., p.4. ³⁵⁶Ibid., p.3.

³⁵⁷Ibid., p.4.

At another point he again admitted to having opposed Chamberlain but at the same time he commended him in all sincerity: "I do not propose to give an appreciation of Neville Chamberlain's life and character, but there were certain qualities always admired in these Islands which he possessed in an...exceptional degree."³⁵⁸

Friendliness. Churchill expressed a great deal of friendliness toward Chamberlain all through the speech. He may have opposed his policies but for Chamberlain as a man he showed the highest degree of regard. One of the best illustrations of this friendliness was found in the passage in which Churchill described his own relations with Chamberlain:

I had the singular experience of passing in a day from being one of his most prominent opponents and critics to being one of his principal lieutenants, and on another day of passing from serving under him to become the head of a Government of which, with perfect loyalty, he was content to be a member. Such relationships are unusual in our public life. I have before told the House how on the morrow of the Debate which in the early days of May challenged his position, he declared to me and a few other friends that only a National Government could face the storm about to break upon us, and that if he were an obstacle to the formation of such a Government, he would instantly retire.³⁵⁹

Sympathy. The Prime Minister had a great deal of sympathy for Chamberlain as a man of great faith who had been betrayed by an unscrupulous enemy: "It fell to Neville Chamberlain in one of the supreme crises of the world to be contradicted by events, to be disappointed in his hopes, and to be deceived and cheated by a wicked man."³⁶⁰

Knowledge of subject. Churchill's subject was Chamberlain, the

³⁵⁸Ibid., p.5. ³⁵⁹Ibid. ³⁶⁰Ibid., p.4.

part that he had played in the war, and the faith and belief that he had had in the triumph of peace. The Prime Minister showed a good knowledge of this, his subject, for he spoke of debate in the House on the question, private talks with Chamberlain, and of his aims and objectives.

Devotion to his cause. The Prime Minister's cause in this address was not so much the war as the extolling of the virtues of honesty, sincerity, and faith which had made Chamberlain a man above the average. The devotion of the author to this cause was demonstrated when Churchill told his audience:

The only guide to a man is his conscience; the only shield to his memory is the rectitude and sincerity of his actions. It is very imprudent to walk through life without this shield, because we are so often mocked by the failure of our hopes and the upsetting of our calculations; but with this shield, however the fates may play, we march always in the ranks of honour.³⁶¹

Pathos

Love and friendship. Churchill spoke of Chamberlain and of his wife in terms of love and friendship, especially in the closing lines of the address:

At this time our thoughts must pass to the gracious and charming lady who shared his days of triumph and adversity with a courage and quality the equal of his own. He was, like his father and his brother Austen before him, a famous Member of the House of Commons, and we here assembled this morning, Members of all parties, without a single exception, feel that we do ourselves and our country honour in saluting the memory of one whom Disraeli would have called an "English worthy."³⁶²

Enmity and hatred. The only enmity and hatred in the speech

³⁶¹ibid. ³⁶²ibid., p.6.

came with reference to Hitler and the Germans. He called Hitler a "wicked man"³⁶³ and drew a very unfavourable comparison of him with Chamberlain: "Herr Hitler protests with frantic words and gestures that he has only desired peace. What do these ravings and outpourings count before the silence of Neville Chamberlain's tomb?"³⁶⁴

Confidence. Churchill said that history and future generations would look upon Chamberlain, despite the failure of his peace policies, as a man who had acted in sincerity and as a man who had loved peace; Churchill was confident in this judgment;

This alone will stand him in good stead as far as what is called the verdict of history is concerned....no future generation of English-speaking folks—for that is the tribunal to which we appeal—will doubt that, even at a great cost to ourselves in technical preparation, we were guiltless of the bloodshed, terror and misery.... Long, hard, and hazardous years lie before us, but at least we entered upon them united and with clean hearts.³⁶⁵

Emulation. The speech was one of emulation. It was a "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain" and as such contained both acclamation and emulation. Many of these examples have been earlier referred to in connection with other aspects of Invention; however, perhaps the best use of emulation came when Churchill spoke of Chamberlain's dedication to the cause of winning the war once it had begun; "The same qualities which made him one of the last to enter the war, made him one of the last who would quit before the full victory of a righteous cause was won."³⁶⁶

³⁶³Ibid., p.4. ³⁶⁴Ibid. ³⁶⁵Ibid., pp.4-5.

³⁶⁶Ibid., p.5.

ARRANGEMENT

The proem of the address was a philosophical discussion of honour, the judgment of history, and the part that Chamberlain's life had had in both. The statement of the speech was a dedication to Chamberlain's memory and to the qualities which he had possessed as a statesman. There was no argument. The epilogue contained Churchill's extension of sympathy to Mrs. Chamberlain and a final tribute to her husband.

STYLE

Level. The style level of the address was sublime. It was a speech of praise and emulation and as such it made extensive use of figurative language and abstract imagery and phraseology. It was a speech of inspiration designed to call forth dedication by paying tribute to a man who had died believing in peace and justice.

Diction and word choice. The diction and word choice were Anglo-Saxon all through the address and most of the words were poly-syllabic and were, in all probability, quite familiar to his audience. The words were generally abstract and very full of figures.

Sentence structure. The greater number of sentences in the speech were complex though there were many simple and compound-complex as well as compound. A sample paragraph was illustrative of this:

After he left the Government he refused all honours. He would die like his father, plain Mr. Chamberlain. I sought permission of the King, however, to have him supplied with

the Cabinet papers, and until a few days of his death he followed our affairs with keenness, interest and tenacity. He met the approach of death with a steady eye. If he grieved at all, it was that he could not be a spectator of our victory; but I think he died with the comfort of knowing that his country had, at least, turned the corner.³⁶⁷

Rhetorical devices and figurative language.

Imagery. Churchill made extensive use of imagery in his "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain." Most of the imagery was visual as the following example illustrated:

The only guide to a man is his conscience; the only shield to his memory is the rectitude and sincerity of his actions. It is very imprudent to walk through life without this shield, because we are so often mocked by the failure of our hopes and the upsetting of our calculations; but with this shield, however the fates may play, we march always in the ranks of honour.³⁶⁸

He also spoke of Chamberlain's sincerity and honesty in terms of imagery: "This alone will stand him in good stead as far as what is called the verdict of history is concerned."³⁶⁹ He used imagery in describing the struggle going on in Europe:

...however long the struggle may last, or however dark may be the clouds which overhang our path, no future generation of English-speaking folks—for that is the tribunal to which we appeal—will doubt that, even at a great cost to ourselves in technical preparation, we were guiltless of the bloodshed, terror and misery which have engulfed so many lands and peoples, and yet seek new victims still.³⁷⁰

Chamberlain, Churchill pointed out, was ready to recognize that "only a National Government could face the storm about to break...."³⁷¹ And when death took the man who had once been Prime Minister he "met the approach of death with a steady eye."³⁷²

³⁶⁷Ibid., p.6. ³⁶⁸Ibid., p.4. ³⁶⁹Ibid.

³⁷⁰Ibid. ³⁷¹Ibid., p.5. ³⁷²Ibid., p.6.

Acclamation. The address also contained a great many phrases of acclamation. Most of these phrases pertained, of course, to Chamberlain. In his references to him, Churchill said: "...grievous loss in the death of one of its most distinguished Members...;"³⁷³ "...paying a tribute of respect and of regard to an eminent man who has been taken from us...;"³⁷⁴ "They were surely among the most noble and benevolent instincts of the human heart—the love of peace, the toil for peace, the strife for peace, the pursuit of peace...certainly to the utter disdain of popularity...;"³⁷⁵ "...Neville Chamberlain acted with perfect sincerity according to his lights and strove to the utmost of his capacity and authority, which were powerful, to save the world from the awful...struggle...;"³⁷⁶ "...there were certain qualities always admired in these Islands which he possessed in an altogether exceptional degree."³⁷⁷ "At this time our thoughts must pass to the gracious and charming lady who shared his days of triumph and adversity with a courage and quality the equal of his own."³⁷⁸ There was one example of auditory imagery; this was used when he spoke of the controversy which had centered around Chamberlain: "The fierce and bitter controversies which hung around him in recent times were hushed by the news of his illness and are silenced by his death."³⁷⁹

Personification. Churchill also made use of personification.

³⁷³Ibid., p.3.

³⁷⁴Ibid.

³⁷⁵Ibid., p.4.

³⁷⁶Ibid.

³⁷⁷Ibid., p.5.

³⁷⁸Ibid., p.6.

³⁷⁹Ibid., p.3.

He spoke of history in this way: "History with its flickering lamp stumbles along the trail of the past, trying to reconstruct its scenes, to revive its echoes, and kindle with pale gleams the passion of former days."³⁸⁰ Later in the address he again personified history: "Whatever else history may or may not say about these terrible, tremendous years...."³⁸¹

Interrogation and discourse. There were several rhetorical questions asked in the speech. He began with one on Chamberlain: "...what were these hopes in which he was disappointed? What were these wishes in which he was frustrated? What was that faith that was abused?"³⁸² Churchill then asked one which compared Hitler and Chamberlain: "What do these ravings and outpourings count before the silence of Neville Chamberlain's tomb?"³⁸³

Contrast. He made one use of contrast and this was a contrast of time;

In one phase men seem to have been right, in another they seem to have been wrong. Then again, a few years later, when the perspective of time has lengthened, all stands in a different setting. There is a new proportion. There is another scale of value.³⁸⁴

Synecdoche. There were a few examples of synecdoche in the speech; Churchill spoke of the "House"³⁸⁵ when he meant the Government or members of the Government. He also described the entrance, into the conflict, of Britain, in the form of a synecdoche: "...we entered upon them united and with clean hearts."³⁸⁶

³⁸⁰Ibid., p.4. ³⁸¹Ibid. ³⁸²Ibid. ³⁸³Ibid., pp.4-5.

³⁸⁴Ibid., p.4. ³⁸⁵Ibid., p.3. ³⁸⁶Ibid., p.5.

Alliteration. Churchill made some use of alliteration all through the address: "terrible, tremendous years,"³⁸⁷ "long, hard, and hazardous years,"³⁸⁸ "no man more resolved,"³⁸⁹ "fortnight of his fortitude."³⁹⁰

Anaphora and epistrophe. There was some anaphora in the speech: "...to be contradicted by events, to be disappointed in his hopes, and to be deceived and cheated by a wicked man."³⁹¹ "He had a physical and moral toughness....He had a precision of mind....He had a firmness of spirit...."³⁹² Churchill also used some epistrophe: "...the love of peace, the toil for peace, the strife for peace, the pursuit of peace...."³⁹³

Climax. The Prime Minister closed his address with climax: He was, like his father and his brother Austen before him, a famous Member of the House of Commons, and we here assembled this morning, Members of all parties, without a single exception, feel that we do ourselves and our country honour in saluting the memory of one whom Disraeli would have called an "English worthy."³⁹⁴

V. PUT YOUR CONFIDENCE IN US

INVENTION

Logos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. Churchill summarized the war up to February 9, 1941, and considered what the morrow might bring. To support his summary he used evidence to a great degree--especially statistical evidence. He discussed the home conditions first: "All through these dark winter months the enemy has had the power to drop three or four tons of bombs upon us for every ton we could send to Germany in return."³⁹⁵

³⁸⁷Ibid., p.4. ³⁸⁸Ibid., p.5. ³⁸⁹Ibid. ³⁹⁰Ibid.
³⁹¹Ibid., p.4. ³⁹²Ibid., p.5. ³⁹³Ibid., p.4. ³⁹⁴Ibid., p.6.
³⁹⁵Churchill, Blood, Sweat and Tears, p.153

Later in the address he again spoke of the winter;

More than two-thirds of the winter has now gone and so far we have had no serious epidemic; indeed, there is no increase of illness in spite of the improvised conditions of the shelters.... In spite of all these new war-time offenses and prosecutions of all kinds; in spite of all the opportunities for looting and disorder, there has been less crime this winter and there are now fewer prisoners in our jails than in the years of peace.³⁹⁶

His next major use of evidence was in an examination of the African conflict;

In barely eight weeks, by a campaign which will long be studied as a model of the military art, an advance of over 400 miles has been made. The whole Italian Army in the east of Libya, which was reputed to exceed 150,000 men, has been captured or destroyed. The entire province of Cyrenaica...has been conquered.³⁹⁷

Fifteen hundred miles away to the southward a strong British and Indian army, having driven the invaders out of the Sudan, is marching steadily forward through the Italian Colony of Eritrea, thus seeking to complete the isolation of all the Italian troops in Abyssinia. Other English forces are entering Abyssinia from the west, while the army gathered in Kenya—in the van of which we may discern the powerful forces of the Union of South Africa... is striking northward along the whole enormous front. Lastly, the Ethiopian patriots...have risen in arms....³⁹⁸

He used evidence when he dealt with the movement of German troops and armed forces into Eastern Europe;

A considerable Nazi German army and air force is being built up in Rumania, and its forward tentacles have already penetrated Bulgaria. With—we must suppose—the acquiescence of the Bulgarian Government, airfields are being occupied by German ground personnel numbering thousands, so as to enable the German air force to come into action from Bulgaria. Many preparations have been made for the movement of German troops into or through Bulgaria, and perhaps this southward movement has already begun.³⁹⁹

Authority. In his analysis of the war effort, the Prime Minister

³⁹⁶Ibid., p.454. ³⁹⁷Ibid., p.456. ³⁹⁸Ibid., p.457.

³⁹⁹Ibid., p.458.

used more authority than evidence. His first authority was that of Scripture. He was speaking of the battle in eastern Libya;

At that time I ventured to draw General Wavell's attention to the seventh chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, at the seventh verse, where, as you all know—or ought to know—it is written; "Ask, and it shall be given; seek and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you."⁴⁰⁰

After the discussion of the African campaign he told his audience of the American aid which was coming and going to come. Then he spoke of the American statesmen who had helped to arrange it:

Distinguished American have come over to see things here at the front, and to find out how the United States can help us best and soonest. In Mr. Hopkins...we have the envoy of the President.... In Mr. Wendell Willkie we have welcomed the champion of the great Republican Party.⁴⁰¹

And the authority of the President was used too:

The other day, President Roosevelt gave his opponent in the late Presidential Election a letter of introduction to me, and in it he wrote out a verse, in his own handwriting, from Longfellow, which he said, "applies to you people as it does to us."⁴⁰²

The final problem with which Churchill was concerned was the old issue of invasion. He wanted to make it clear that the threat was not gone, nor would it be gone for quite some time, therefore the English people must always be prepared. To substantiate this argument he relied upon statements released by a member of the military staff:

You will have seen that Sir John Dill...the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, has warned us all that Hitler may be forced, by the strategic, economic and political stresses in Europe, to try to invade these Islands in the near future.⁴⁰³

⁴⁰⁰Ibid., p.455. ⁴⁰¹Ibid., p.457. ⁴⁰²Ibid., p.462.

⁴⁰³Ibid., pp.460-61.

Sign. This address contained a number of arguments from sign. In his reiteration of the African campaign Churchill made use of this type of argument:

When the brilliant decisive victory at Sidi Barrani, with its tens of thousands of prisoners, proved that we had quality, maneuvering power and weapons superior to the enemy, who had boasted so much of his virility and his military virtues, it was evident that all the other Italian forces in eastern Libya were in great danger.⁴⁰⁴

He used argument from sign to tie together the home effects of war and the war abroad, choosing as his example the tank industry:

I must not forget here to point out the amazing mechanical feats of the British tanks, whose design and workmanship have beaten all records and stood up to all trials; and show us how closely and directly the work in the factories at home is linked with the victories abroad.⁴⁰⁵

The English aircraft-carrier, the "Illustrious", had been very seriously damaged off the coast of Sicily. In need of repair it headed for the Island of Malta where, as it lay at anchor, a group of German bombers tried to destroy it. However, they were unable to do so and even suffered heavy losses as a result of the heated engagement. Churchill then used this illustration, in an argument from sign, to show that the British were to do their best. He said: "I dwell upon this incident, not at all because I think it disposes of the danger in the Central Mediterranean, but in order to show you that there, as elsewhere, we intend to give a good account of ourselves."⁴⁰⁶ As was earlier pointed out, his final topic for discussion in the address was the threat of invasion. Although invasion was possible at any time, he said, he did not believe that

⁴⁰⁴ibid., p.455. ⁴⁰⁵ibid., p.456. ⁴⁰⁶ibid., p.460.

it could succeed because of the strength of the forces home in Britain;

...we are far stronger than we ever were before, incomparably stronger than we were in July, August and September. Our Navy is more powerful, our flotillas are more numerous.... Our Army is more numerous, more mobile and far better equipped and trained....⁴⁰⁷

Assumption. Churchill made few assumptions in regard to the progress of the war. However, he did tell the English people at one point: "We may be sure that the war is soon going to enter upon a phase of greater violence."⁴⁰⁸ Following the assumption that the war was to become more severe, he drew two more with regard to its final outcome;

One of our difficulties is to convince some of these neutral countries in Europe that we are going to win. We think it astonishing that they should be so dense as not to see it as clearly as we do ourselves.⁴⁰⁹

His second one came near the end: "We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down."⁴¹⁰

Logos--artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. "Put Your Confidence in Us" relied rather heavily upon generalization, much more so than on assumption. Churchill opened the speech by generalizing on the attitudes of the Dominions toward the British position: "The whole British Empire has been proud of the Mother

⁴⁰⁷Ibid., p.461. ⁴⁰⁸Ibid., p.458. ⁴⁰⁹Ibid., p.459.

⁴¹⁰Ibid., p.462.

Country, and they long to be with us over here in even larger numbers."⁴¹¹ A second generalization was drawn from the strength of the Air Force coupled with the coming of spring:

We have broken the back of winter. The daylight grows. The Royal Air Force grows, and is already certainly master of the daylight air. The attacks may be sharper, but they will be shorter; there will be more opportunities for work and service of all kinds; more opportunities for life.⁴¹²

From the victories in Africa he generalized as to the ultimate outcome there: "The events in Libya are only part of the story; they are only part of the story of the decline and fall of the Italian Empire...."⁴¹³ Now that the African conflict had turned course he discussed the situation in the Balkans and considered what might be done there:

...if all the Balkan people stood together and acted together, aided by Britain and Turkey, it would be many months before a German army and air force of sufficient strength to overcome them could be assembled in the southeast of Europe.⁴¹⁴

As he had used argument from sign and assumption in speaking of the war in the future, so he also used argument from generalization:

...I have complete confidence in the Royal Navy, aided by the Air Force of the Coastal Command, and that in one way or another I am sure they will be able to meet every changing phase of this truly mortal struggle, and that sustained by the courage of our merchant seamen, and of the dockers and workmen of all our ports, we shall outwit, outmaneuver, outfight and outlast the worst that the enemy's malice and ingenuity can contrive.⁴¹⁵

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. Churchill seemed to be struggling to make the people understand that invasion was always a threat and yet one which could be met if England were

⁴¹¹Ibid., p.453. ⁴¹²Ibid., p.454. ⁴¹³Ibid., p.457.

⁴¹⁴Ibid., p.458. ⁴¹⁵Ibid., p.460

prepared. To illustrate this he showed a causal relationship between the absence of invasion at an earlier period and the damage which English preparedness had inflicted upon the German air force: "After the heavy defeats of the German air force by our fighters in August and September, Herr Hitler did not dare attempt the invasion of this Island...."⁴¹⁶ Part of the reason for the British successes in Libya could have been illustrated by a causal relationship. After the battle of Sidi Barrani many additional Italian troops were in danger;

...it was evident that the other Italian forces in eastern Libya were in great danger. They could not easily beat a retreat along the coastal road without running the risk of being caught in the open by our armored divisions and brigades ranging far out into the desert in tremendous swoops and scoops. They had to expose themselves to being attacked piecemeal.⁴¹⁷

But there were other causes for the British victories in Africa;

Of course, none of our plans would have succeeded had not our pilots, under Air Chief Marshal Longmore, wrested the control of the air from a far more numerous enemy. Nor would the campaign itself have been possible if the British Mediterranean Fleet, under Admiral Cunningham, had not chased the Italian Navy into its harbours and sustained every forward surge of the Army with all the flexible resources of sea power.⁴¹⁸

Moving from the African conflict, he turned to a world situation which would, he believed, become darker before it became lighter. He illustrated this with a causal argument:

We may be sure that the war is soon going to enter upon a phase of greater violence. Hitler's confederate, Mussolini, has reeled back in Albania; but the Nazis—having absorbed Hungary and driven Rumania into a frightful internal convulsion—are now already upon the Black Sea.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁶Ibid., p.453. ⁴¹⁷Ibid., p.455. ⁴¹⁸Ibid., p.456.

⁴¹⁹Ibid., p.458.

Churchill took advantage of argument from causation in two more instances to show that things were to become worse: "...if the countries of southeastern Europe allow themselves to be pulled to pieces one by one, they will share the fate of Denmark, Holland and Belgium."⁴²⁰ His second argument concerned the heavy reliance which Britain was forced to place on her shipping: "These facts are, of course, all well known to the enemy, and we must therefore expect that Herr Hitler will do his utmost to prey upon our shipping...."⁴²¹ However, the picture was destined to become more clear, especially when overseas aid began to turn the balance: "Much will certainly happen as American aid becomes effective, as our air power grows, as we become a well-armed nation, and as our armies in the East increase in strength."⁴²²

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. Using argument from analogy the Prime Minister discussed the British at Waterloo and compared the present civilians to the English soldiers present at that earlier conflict:

They remind me of the British squares at Waterloo. They are not squares of soldiers; they do not wear scarlet coats. They are just ordinary English, Scottish and Welsh folk—men, women and children—standing steadfastly together. But their spirit is the same, their glory is the same; and, in the end their victory will be greater than far-famed Waterloo.⁴²³

Next he analyzed the Low Countries and pointed out the similarities between them and the then free states of eastern Europe:

We saw what happened last May in the Low Countries; how

⁴²⁰Ibid., p.459. ⁴²¹Ibid., p.460. ⁴²²Ibid., p.459.

⁴²³Ibid., p.454.

they hoped for the best; how they clung to their neutrality; how woefully they were deceived, overwhelmed, plundered, enslaved and since starved...nothing is more certain than that, if the countries of southeastern Europe allow themselves to be pulled to pieces one by one, they will share the fate of Denmark, Holland and Belgium.⁴²⁴

One of these southeastern countries was Bulgaria who had lost much by choosing the wrong side in World War I and now might lose much again, said Churchill with another analogy:

I remember in the last war, in July, 1915, we began to think that Bulgaria was going wrong, so Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Sir F.E. Smith and I asked the Bulgarian Minister to dinner to explain to him what a fool King Ferdinand would make of himself if he were to go in on the losing side. It was no use. The poor man simply could not believe it, or could not make his Government believe it. So Bulgaria, against the wishes of her peasant population, against all her interests, fell in at the Kaiser's tail and got sadly carved up and punished when the victory was won. I trust that Bulgaria is not going to make the same mistake again. If they do, the Bulgarian peasantry and people, for whom there has been much regard, both in Great Britain and in the United States, will for the third time in thirty years have been made to embark upon a needless and disastrous war.⁴²⁵

Deductive reasoning—argument from syllogism and enthymeme.

Churchill used the enthymeme but not as frequently as in some of his other speeches which were studied. He posed one enthymeme when he warned the nations of southeastern Europe; "...if the countries of southeastern Europe allow themselves to be pulled to pieces one by one, they will share the fate of Denmark, Holland and Belgium."⁴²⁶ He used another in his analysis of the invasion threat: "I have never underrated this danger, and you know I have never concealed it from you. Therefore, I hope you will believe

⁴²⁴Ibid., p.458. ⁴²⁵Ibid., p.459. ⁴²⁶Ibid.

me when I say that I have complete confidence in the Royal Navy....⁴²⁷ Then he rephrased one which he had used in many of his war speeches: "In order to win the war Hitler must destroy Great Britain."⁴²⁸

Ethos

Simplicity. Churchill used little simplicity in his building of ethos; perhaps the best example came from his discussion of his faith in the British people:

I have the greatest confidence in our Commander-in-Chief, General Brooks, and in the generals of proved ability who, under him, guard the different quarters of our land. But most of all I put my faith in the simple unaffected resolve to conquer or die which will animate and inspire nearly four million Britons with serviceable weapons in their hands.⁴²⁹

Sincerity. His reliance upon sincerity was demonstrated in several places by his references to the anxiety, the chance, and the success involved in the conflict. He said of the struggle in Libya:

Here then, in Libya, is the third considerable event upon which we may dwell with some satisfaction. It is just exactly two months ago, to a day, that I was waiting anxiously, but also eagerly, for the news of the greater counter-stroke which had been planned against the Italian invaders of Egypt. The secret had been well kept. The preparations had been well made. But to leap across those seventy miles of desert, and attack an army of ten or eleven divisions, equipped with all the appliances of modern war, who had been fortifying themselves for three months—that was a most hazardous adventure.⁴³⁰

In another place in the address he spoke of the leaders who had done so much to bring about the African victory:

This is the time, I think, to speak of the leaders who,

⁴²⁷Ibid., p.460. ⁴²⁸Ibid., p.461. ⁴²⁹Ibid.

⁴³⁰Ibid., p.455.

at the head of their brave troops, have rendered this distinguished service to the King. The first and foremost, General Wavell, Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies of the Middle East, has proved himself a master of war, sage, painstaking, daring and tireless. But General Wavell has repeatedly asked that others should share his fame.⁴³¹

And, as on other occasions, there was a great degree of sincerity in Churchill's frank revelation of war conditions:

I have been so very careful, since I have been Prime Minister, not to encourage false hopes or prophesy smooth and easy things....now I must dwell upon the more serious, darker and more dangerous aspects of the vast scene of the war.⁴³²

Friendliness. The Prime Minister always manifested a sincere attitude of respect and friendliness towards the people "at home" who were doing their part:

All honor to the Civil Defense Services of all kinds—emergency and regular, volunteer and professional—who have helped our people through this formidable ordeal.... If I mention only one of these services here, namely the Police, it is because many tributes have been paid already to the others. But the Police have been in it everywhere, all the time, and as a working woman wrote to me; "what gentlemen they are!"⁴³³

More than two-thirds of the winter has now gone, and so far we have had no serious epidemic.... That is more creditable to our local, medical and sanitary authorities, to our devoted nursing staff, and to the Ministry of Health, whose head, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, is now going to Canada in the important office of High Commissioner.⁴³⁴

He maintained this same spirit of friendliness toward his soldiers and commanders, and dedicated one part of his speech to them; "This is the time, I think, to speak of the leaders who, at the head of their brave troops, have rendered this distinguished service to the King."⁴³⁵ There was an international attitude of friendliness

⁴³¹Ibid., p.456. ⁴³²Ibid., p.458. ⁴³³Ibid., p.454.

⁴³⁴Ibid.

⁴³⁵Ibid., p.456.

present also, one which applied to Greeks, Frenchmen and Americans; "Without the slightest provocation, spurred on by lust of power and brutish greed, Mussolini attacked and invaded Greece, only to be hurled back ignominiously by the heroic Greek Army...."⁴³⁶ He hoped that the French would hear of the English victories in Africa for he believed "it might cheer them with the feeling that friends--active friends--are near...."⁴³⁷ And of the Americans he said:

In Mr. Hopkins, who has been my frequent companion during the last three weeks, we have the Envoy of the President, a President who has been newly re-elected to his august office. In Mr. Wendell Willkie we have welcomed the champion of the great Republican Party. We may be sure that they will both tell the truth about what they have seen over here, and more than that we do not ask. The rest we leave with good confidence to the judgment of the President, the Congress and the people of the United States.⁴³⁸

Sympathy. He showed sympathy towards two groups of peoples who had been or would be the victims of the war, the Arabs and the Bulgarian peasants:

The entire province of Cyrenaica--nearly as big as England and Wales--has been conquered. The unhappy Arab tribes, who have for thirty years suffered from the cruelty of Italian rule, carried in some cases to the point of methodical extermination, these Bedouin survivors have at last seen their oppressors in disorderly flight, or led off in endless droves as prisoners of war.⁴³⁹

Of the Bulgarians, if Bulgaria's government chose to side with Hitler, he said:

...the Bulgarian peasantry and people, for whom there has been much regard, both in Great Britain and in the United States, will for the third time in thirty years have been made to

⁴³⁶Ibid., p.454. ⁴³⁷Ibid., p.457. ⁴³⁸Ibid., pp.457-58.

⁴³⁹Ibid., p.456.

embark upon a needless and disastrous war.⁴⁴⁰

Knowledge of subject. A knowledge of his subject was demonstrated by Churchill's commentary on the campaign in Africa. He was familiar with the numbers of troops employed by both sides, the events and areas in which the conflict took place, and the attitudes of the Ethiopians and others who lived in the region. He still spoke of the possibility of invasion and understood its potentials. Also, he showed a good knowledge of operations in the home departments of Police, Health, Safety, Sanitation, etc.

Devotion to cause. Churchill's devotion to his cause was best illustrated by the way in which he spoke of that cause. He examined and praised its purpose and spirit and showed a deep faith in its ultimate outcome;

It has now been proved, to the admiration of the world, and of our friends in the United States, that this form of blackmail by murder and terrorism, so far from weakening the spirit of the British nation, has only roused it to a more intense and universal flame than was ever seen before in any modern community.⁴⁴¹

One of our difficulties is to convince some of these neutral countries in Europe that we are going to win. We think it astonishing that they should be so dense as not to see it as clearly as we do ourselves.⁴⁴²

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.⁴⁴³

Pathos

Anger. He was angered by the traitors who had sold their

⁴⁴⁰Ibid., p.459. ⁴⁴¹Ibid., p.453. ⁴⁴²Ibid., p.459.

⁴⁴³Ibid., p.462.

homelands to the enemy. He was also angered by the Italian people who had permitted themselves to be drug down the lane of disaster by Mussolini. Of the traitors who had betrayed their countries he said;

In the Central Mediterranean the Italian Quisling, who is called Mussolini, and the French Quisling, commonly called Laval, are both in their different ways trying to make their countries into doormats for Hitler and his New Order, in the hope of being able to keep, or get the Nazi Gestapo and Prussian bayonets to enforce, their rule upon their fellow countrymen.⁴⁴⁴

Then he expressed the feeling that the Italian people would receive that which they justly deserved: "It is right that the Italian people should be made to feel the sorry plight into which they have been dragged by Dictator Mussolini...."⁴⁴⁵

Mildness. It was with mildness that Churchill referred to the Low Countries who had been duped and tricked by their own neutrality;

We saw what happened last May in the Low Countries; how they hoped for the best; how they clung to their neutrality; how woefully they were deceived, overwhelmed, plundered, enslaved and since starved. We know how we and the French suffered when, at the last moment, at the urgent belated appeal of the King of the Belgians, we went to his aid.⁴⁴⁶

Love and friendship. There was a deep bond of love among the members of the Commonwealth, according to Churchill, and the strength of this bond had been made clear by the war;

The whole British Empire has been proud of the Mother Country, and they long to be with us over here in even larger numbers. We have been deeply conscious of the love for us which has

⁴⁴⁴ibid., p.459. ⁴⁴⁵ibid., p.457. ⁴⁴⁶ibid., p.458.

flowed from the Dominions of the Crown across the broad ocean spaces.⁴⁴⁷

This same bond existed between the United States and Britain, for, in speaking of America, Churchill commented; "...a mighty tide of sympathy, of good will and of effective aid, has begun to flow across the Atlantic in support of the world cause which is at stake."⁴⁴⁸ He also referred to the message that President Roosevelt had sent by way of Wendell Willkie;

The other day, President Roosevelt gave his opponent in the late Presidential Election a letter of introduction to me, and in it he wrote out a verse, in his own handwriting, from Longfellow, which he said, "applies to you people as it does to us."⁴⁴⁹

Enmity and hatred. Churchill's ~~enmity~~ and hatred were most clearly expressed in his references to the foe. Of the enemy's tactics he said; "blackmail by murder and terrorism;"⁴⁵⁰ "spurred on by lust of power and brutish greed."⁴⁵¹ He called Mussolini "the crafty, cold-blooded, blackhearted Italian...."⁴⁵² Of Hitler he asked;

What has that wicked man whose crime stained regime and system are at bay and in the toils—what has he been preparing during these winter months? What new devilry is he planning? What new small country will he overrun or strike down? What fresh form of assault will he make upon our Island home and fortress...?⁴⁵³

He later continued his condemnation of Hitler;

With every month that passes the many proud and once happy countries he is now holding down by brute force and vile

⁴⁴⁷Ibid., p.458. ⁴⁴⁸Ibid., p.457. ⁴⁴⁹Ibid., p.462.

⁴⁵⁰Ibid., p.453. ⁴⁵¹Ibid., p.454. ⁴⁵²Ibid.

⁴⁵³Ibid., p.458.

intrigue are learning to hate the Prussian yoke and the Nazi name as nothing has ever been hated so fiercely and so widely among men before.⁴⁵⁴

Confidence. There were many examples of confidence in the speech, confidence in the future especially. Churchill said at one point: "We have broken the back of the winter. The daylight grows. The Royal Air Force grows, and is already certainly master of the daylight air."⁴⁵⁵ In another passage he confidently looked into the future:

...these auspicious events have been carrying us stride by stride from what many people thought a forlorn position, and was certainly a very grave position in May and June, to one which permits us to speak with sober confidence of our power to discharge our duty, heavy though it be in the future....⁴⁵⁶

Again and again he expressed confidence in the Royal Navy and other military divisions: "...I have complete confidence in the Royal Navy, aided by the Air Force of the Coastal Command...."⁴⁵⁷

I have the greatest confidence in our Commander-in-Chief, General Brooke, and in the generals of proved ability who, under him, guard the different quarters of our land. But most of all I put my faith in the simple unaffected resolve to conquer or die which will animate and inspire nearly four million Britons with serviceable weapons in their hands.⁴⁵⁸

Then speaking for the nation he said:

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.⁴⁵⁹

Shame. Churchill used shame when he referred to the "black-hearted" Mussolini "who had thought to gain an Empire on the

⁴⁵⁴ibid., pp.461-62. ⁴⁵⁵ibid., p.454. ⁴⁵⁶ibid., p.457.

⁴⁵⁷ibid., p.460. ⁴⁵⁸ibid., p.461. ⁴⁵⁹ibid., p.462.

cheap by stabbing fallen France in the back...."⁴⁶⁰

Indignation. The unprovoked advances of Mussolini in the Mediterranean and Hitler's bombing of London made Churchill indignant and as he spoke of the Italian attack on Greece he expressed this indignation: "Without the slightest provocation, spurred on by lust of power and brutish greed, Mussolini attacked and invaded Greece...."⁴⁶¹ On Hitler's "blackmail by terror" he commented: "...he sought to break the spirit of the British nation by bombing, first of London, and afterwards of our great cities."⁴⁶²

Emulation. The British people had to show themselves worthy of the respect which they had earned throughout the world. Churchill, when he discussed the love and admiration of the Dominions, told the nation: "There is the first of our war aims: to be worthy of that love, and to preserve it."⁴⁶³ An example from the past that he felt might justly have been emulated was that of the British at Waterloo:

...London and our big cities have had to stand their pounding. They remind me of the British squares at Waterloo. They are not squares of soldiers; they do not wear scarlet coats. They are just ordinary English, Scottish and Welsh folk--men, women and children--standing steadfastly together. But their spirit is the same; and in the end, their victory will be greater than far-famed Waterloo.⁴⁶⁴

The Greeks too were worthy of respect and pride, past and present:

...Mussolini attacked and invaded Greece, only to be hurled back ignominiously by the heroic Greek Army; who, I will say, with your consent, have revived before our eyes the glories which, from the classic age, gild their native land.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁰Ibid., p.454.

⁴⁶¹Ibid.

⁴⁶²Ibid., p.453.

⁴⁶³Ibid.

⁴⁶⁴Ibid., p.454.

⁴⁶⁵Ibid.

Contempt. "Put Your Confidence in Us" had one passage in which the Prime Minister, using a quotation from Byron, referred to the enemy with contempt: "We have all been entertained, and I trust edified, by the exposure and humiliation of another of what Byron called

"Those Pagod things of sabre sway
With fronts of brass and feet of clay."⁴⁶⁶

ARRANGEMENT

"Put Your Confidence in Us" followed the four divisions of poem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The poem dealt with events of the five months that had intervened since Churchill last spoke to the nation. These events included the bombing of London, the securing of overseas aid, and activities on the home front.

The statement reviewed the war in Libya and the implications of the victories there. It also covered the submarine war threat and the possibility of invasion.

In the argument Churchill listed the Italian losses and the value of the bases gained thereby in Africa. He then quoted authority and evidence which pointed to the seriousness of the continued invasion threat.

The epilogue was built around a poem which Roosevelt had sent to Churchill and a summary of the answer which a dedicated England would return.

STYLE

Level. The style level was sublime. Churchill was not

⁴⁶⁶Ibid., p.455.

concentrating on giving an informative speech to a special group, rather he was talking to the entire nation. He discussed the recent achievements in Libya and in the Central Mediterranean, but, he did so with an emphasis upon the course that Britain would take now that the war had seemed to turn a bit. The speech was more one of praise and encouragement than it was one to inform. Even the use of statistics and facts in relation to the war were made in very figurative and flowing language. The speech on the whole laid strong emphasis upon imagery, metaphor, alliteration, etc.

Diction and word choice. The word choice was almost entirely Anglo-Saxon with the exception of place names which were either Latin or German in origin. The words were mostly poly-syllabic and yet there was no use of exceptionally long words, or words too long or involved which might have made their meaning difficult to grasp. He employed terms which his audience would have understood. There was much imagery and much that was abstract but the thought was easily grasped and the foundations for the material came from concrete statistics, figures, etc.

Sentence structure. Most of Churchill's sentences were complex or simple. He did use many compound and compound-complex combinations when he advanced some of his more figurative phrases and abstract ideas, but these were not the general rule. The following paragraph was fairly representative:

We stood our ground and faced two Dictators in the hour of what seemed their overwhelming triumph, and we have shown ourselves capable, so far, of standing up against them alone. After the heavy defeats of the German air force by our fighters

in August and September, Herr Hitler did not dare attempt the invasion of this Island, although he had every need to do so and although he had made vast preparations. Baffled in this mighty project, he sought to break the spirit of the British nation by bombing, first of London, and afterwards of our great cities. It has now been proved, to the admiration of the world, and of our friends in the United States, that this form of blackmail by murder and terrorism, so far from weakening the spirit of the British nation, has only roused it to a more intense and universal flame than was ever seen before in any modern community.⁴⁶⁷

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Imagery. There was a large amount of imagery in the speech, most of it visual. When Churchill spoke of Britain's defense and defenders he was especially imageric. For example, when he looked back over the bombings of London he reflected: "...far from weakening the spirit of the British nation," these bombings, "has only roused it to a more intense and universal flame than was ever seen before in any modern community."⁴⁶⁸ The citizens of London and other bombed cities were in some ways like the soldiers at Waterloo: "They are just ordinary English, Scottish and Welsh folk—men, women and children....But their spirit is the same; and, in the end, their victory will be greater than far-famed Waterloo."⁴⁶⁹ The speech was delivered in the early part of February and Churchill told his listeners that things would soon be better for the winter was over: "We have broken the back of the winter."⁴⁷⁰ He said of Hitler's aggressive expansion into the rest of the free world;

He may carry havoc into the Balkan States; he may tear great provinces out of Russia; he may march to the Caspian; he may

⁴⁶⁷Ibid., p.453. ⁴⁶⁸Ibid., p.453. ⁴⁶⁹Ibid., p.454.

⁴⁷⁰Ibid.

march to the gates of India. All this will avail him nothing. It may spread his curse more widely throughout Europe and Asia, but it will not avert his doom. With every month that passes the many proud and once happy countries he is now holding down by brute force and vile intrigue are learning to hate the Prussian yoke and the Nazi name as nothing has ever been hated so fiercely and so widely among men before.⁴⁷¹

He did use one piece of auditory imagery when he was speaking of the bombing of the Italian cities:

...if the cannonade of Genoa, rolling along the coast, reverberating in the mountains, reached the ears of our French comrades in their grief and misery, it might cheer them with the feeling that friends—active friends—are near and that Britannia rules the waves.⁴⁷²

Literary quotation. There were several allusions to literature in the address. In his opening line he used the motto: "Deeds, not words."⁴⁷³ Later in the speech he referred to the Italians in the words of Byron:

"Those Pagod things of sabre sway
With fronts of brass and feet of clay."⁴⁷⁴

Churchill pointed out that the enemy would someday discover that, "Though the mills of the gods grind slowly, they grind exceedingly small."⁴⁷⁵ A brief reference was made to Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire⁴⁷⁶ and then he closed with the cutting from Longfellow's "Building the Ship":

"...Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!"⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷¹Ibid., p.461. ⁴⁷²Ibid., p.457. ⁴⁷³Ibid., p.453.

⁴⁷⁴Ibid., p.455. ⁴⁷⁵Ibid., p.457. ⁴⁷⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷⁷Ibid., p.462.

Metaphor. "Put Your Confidence in Us" contained several metaphors, many of them with reference to the enemy. He called the bombings of London: "blackmail by murder and terrorism."⁴⁷⁸ And he said of the governments of Vichy France and Italy that they were "both in their different ways trying to make their countries into doormats for Hitler and his New Order."⁴⁷⁹ He used metaphor in describing German movements in eastern Europe: "A considerable Nazi German army and air force is being built up in Rumania, and its forward tentacles have already penetrated Bulgaria."⁴⁸⁰ His attitude toward the Allies was, of course, different from that which he maintained toward the enemy. He talked of the "love which has flowed from the Dominions of the Crown across the broad ocean spaces."⁴⁸¹

Metonymy and synecdoche. Churchill referred to Britain as the "Mother Country"⁴⁸² and discussed the "unhappy Arab tribes...these Bedouin survivors."⁴⁸³ He said of Willkie, as Roosevelt's message bearer: "President Roosevelt gave his opponent in the late Presidential Election a letter of introduction to me...."⁴⁸⁴ He employed synecdoche when he commented on the Italian forces after they had been defeated in Greece: "Signor Mussolini was writhing and smarting...."⁴⁸⁵ He referred to the German army in terms of Hitler's fingers: "Having conquered France and Norway, his clutching fingers reach out on both sides of us into the ocean."⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁷⁸Ibid., p.453. ⁴⁷⁹Ibid., p.459. ⁴⁸⁰Ibid., p.458.

⁴⁸¹Ibid., p.453. ⁴⁸²Ibid. ⁴⁸³Ibid., p.456.

⁴⁸⁴Ibid., p.462. ⁴⁸⁵Ibid., p.455. ⁴⁸⁶Ibid., p.460.

Irony and satire. Churchill made much use of irony and satire, especially in his discussion of the enemy. He began with a comment on the German air raids: "...the enemy has had the power to drop three or four tons of bombs upon us for every ton we could send to Germany in return. We are arranging so that presently this will be rather the other way round."⁴⁸⁷ Looking at the recent Italian defeats he told his audience: "We have all been entertained, and I trust edified, by the exposure and humiliation of another of what Byron called

"Those Pagod things of sabre sway
With fronts of brass and feet of clay."⁴⁸⁸

In this same tone he continued;

When the brilliant decisive victory at Sidi Barrani, with its tens of thousands of prisoners, proved that we had quality, maneuvering power and weapons superior to the enemy, who had boasted so much of his virility and his military virtues....⁴⁸⁹

His reference to Mussolini and Laval also contained a note of irony;

"...the Italian Quisling, who is called Mussolini, and the French Quisling, commonly called Laval...."⁴⁹⁰ When he discussed the Bulgarian mistakes in the First World War he used satire;

...we...asked the Bulgarian Minister to dinner to explain to him what a fool King Ferdinand would make of himself if he were to go in on the losing side. It was no use. The peer man simply could not believe it, or could not make his Government believe it. So Bulgaria...fell in at the Kaiser's tail and got sadly carved up and punished when the victory was won.⁴⁹¹

Anaphora and epistrophe. When Churchill compared the British at Waterloo to the British in the Battle of Britain he used

⁴⁸⁷Ibid., p.454. ⁴⁸⁸Ibid., p.455. ⁴⁸⁹Ibid.

⁴⁹⁰Ibid., p.459. ⁴⁹¹Ibid.

anaphora: "...their spirit is the same, their glory is the same...."⁴⁹² Commenting on the home situation he again used anaphora: "In spite of all these new war-time offenses and prosecutions of all kinds; in spite of all the opportunities for looting and disorder...."⁴⁹³ His discussion of the Low Countries also used anaphora: "...how they hoped for the best; how they clung to their neutrality; how woefully they were deceived...."⁴⁹⁴ His closing lines took advantage of anaphora: "We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire."⁴⁹⁵ There was also some epistrophe in the address. He used epistrophe in speaking of the Royal Air Force: "The daylight grows. The Royal Air Force grows...."⁴⁹⁶ He said, in speaking of supplies: "We need them here and we need to bring them here."⁴⁹⁷ Churchill warned the British people: "We must all be prepared to meet gas attacks, parachute attacks, and glider attacks...."⁴⁹⁸

Alliteration. Churchill used several examples of alliteration in his speech: "standing steadfastly together;"⁴⁹⁹ "terror and torture;"⁵⁰⁰ "lithe, active, ardent men;"⁵⁰¹ "we shall outwit, outmaneuver, outfight and outlast the worst...."⁵⁰²

Onomatopoea. Churchill used onomatopoea once during the speech and that came when he discussed the cannonade of Genoa: "...if the cannonade of Genoa, rolling along the coast, reverberating in the mountains...."⁵⁰³

⁴⁹²Ibid., p.454.

⁴⁹⁵Ibid., p.462.

⁴⁹⁸Ibid., p.461.

⁵⁰¹Ibid., p.455.

⁴⁹³Ibid.

⁴⁹⁶Ibid., p.454.

⁴⁹⁹Ibid., p.454.

⁵⁰²Ibid., p.460.

⁴⁹⁴Ibid., p.458.

⁴⁹⁷Ibid., p.460.

⁵⁰⁰Ibid.

⁵⁰³Ibid., p.457.

Acclamation. As a speech of praise it used acclamation: "All honor to the Civil Defense Services of all kinds...."⁵⁰⁴ He continued to use it in speaking of the home defense group: "That is more creditable to our local, medical and sanitary authorities, to our devoted nursing staff, and to the Ministry of Health...."⁵⁰⁵ Churchill employed acclamation in speaking of the Greeks: "...the heroic Greek Army; who, I will say with your consent, have revived before our eyes the glories which, from the classic age, gild their native land."⁵⁰⁶ And he spoke of the leaders in the African campaign with acclamation: "This is the time, I think, to speak of the leaders who, at the head of their brave troops, have rendered this distinguished service to the King."⁵⁰⁷

Hyperbole. There were several examples of hyperbole, or exaggeration in the address. He employed it in speaking of the Italian prisoners: "...these Bedouin survivors have at last seen their oppressors in disorderly flight, or led off in endless droves as prisoners of war."⁵⁰⁸ And he used it in speaking of British tanks: "...the amazing mechanical feats of the British tanks, whose design and workmanship have beaten all records and stood up to all trials."⁵⁰⁹

Interrogation and discourse. Churchill asked several questions of his audience;

What has that wicked man whose crime stained regime and system are at bay and in the toils--what has he been preparing during

⁵⁰⁴Ibid., p.454.

⁵⁰⁵Ibid.

⁵⁰⁶Ibid.

⁵⁰⁷Ibid., p.456.

⁵⁰⁸Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹Ibid.

these winter months? What new devilry is he planning? What new small country will he overrun or strike down? What fresh form of assault will he make upon our Island home and fortress....⁵¹⁰

He asked his audience another similar question in relation to a reply to the President's message: "What is the answer that I shall give, in your name, to this great man, the thrice chosen head of a nation of a hundred and thirty millions?"⁵¹¹

Climax. He employed climax in the closing of the address when he gave the British people's reply to President Roosevelt's message:

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.⁵¹²

VI. THE FOURTH CLIMACTERIC

INVENTION

Logos—non-artistic proof

Evidence. There was little use of evidence in "The Fourth Climacteric" and only a portion of that used was statistical. Churchill used evidence when he spoke of the lend-lease bill passed by the United States;

The third turning-point was when the President and Congress of the United States passed the lease-and-lend enactment, devoting nearly 2,000 millions sterling of the wealth of the New World to help us to defend our liberties and their own.⁵¹³

He used evidence again when he discussed the events and circumstances

⁵¹⁰Ibid., p.458. ⁵¹¹Ibid., p.462. ⁵¹²Ibid.

⁵¹³Winston S. Churchill, The Unrelenting Struggle (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1942), p.170.

of the Russian invasion;

At four o'clock this morning Hitler attacked and invaded Russia.... A non-aggression treaty had been solemnly signed and was in force between the two countries. No complaint had been made by Germany of its non-fulfilment. Under its cloak of false confidence, the German armies drew up in immense strength along a line which stretches from the White Sea to the Black Sea....⁵¹⁴

The Prime Minister used evidence a third time when he spoke of the Royal Air Force over France: "...only yesterday the Royal Air Force, fighting inland over French territory, cut down with very small loss to themselves 28 of the Hun fighting machines...."⁵¹⁵

Authority. Churchill relied only to a minor degree on authority in this address. He referred once to "His Majesty's Government;

...now I have to declare the decision of His Majesty's Government-- and I feel sure it is a decision in which the great Dominions will, in due course, concur.... I have to make the declaration, but can you doubt what our policy will be? We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime.⁵¹⁶

Later he turned to Hitler: "...if Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aims or slackening of effort in the great Democracies who are resolved upon his doom, he is woefully mistaken."⁵¹⁷

Sign. There were a few arguments from sign in the speech, but, as in the case of evidence and authority, these were not numerous. Churchill discussed the potential foes of England in an argument from sign: "Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe."⁵¹⁸ And he employed argument from sign to show the reasons why Hitler

⁵¹⁴Ibid.

⁵¹⁵Ibid., p.173.

⁵¹⁶Ibid., p.172.

⁵¹⁷Ibid., p.173.

⁵¹⁸Ibid., p.172.

invaded Russia and might well try to invade England again;

...when I spoke a few minutes ago of Hitler's blood-lust and the hateful appetites which have impelled or lured him on his Russian adventure, I said there was one deeper motive behind his outrage. He wishes to destroy the Russian power because he hopes that if he succeeds in this, he will be able to bring back the main strength of his army and his air force from the East and hurl it upon this Island....He hopes that he may once again repeat, upon a greater scale than ever before, that process of destroying his enemies one by one, by which he has so long thrived and prospered....⁵¹⁹

Assumption. Churchill advanced several assumptions during the course of his address. He posed one assumption about the German military force:

The terrible military machine cannot stand idle lest it rust or fall to pieces. It must be in continual motion, grinding up human lives and trampling down the homes and rights of hundreds of millions of men. Moreover it must be fed, not only with flesh but with oil.⁵²⁰

He made another assumption from American aid: "In another six months the weight of the help we are receiving from the United States in war materials of all kinds, especially in heavy bombers, will begin to tell."⁵²¹ And a third assumption related to the effectiveness of united action on the part of the Allies prior to the war: "This is no time to moralize on the follies of countries and governments which have allowed themselves to be struck down one by one, when by united action they could have saved themselves...."⁵²²

Logos--artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. The Prime Minister put forth a number of generalizations about the war and

⁵¹⁹ibid., pp.173-74. ⁵²⁰ibid., pp.170-71. ⁵²¹ibid., p.173.

⁵²²ibid., p.174.

the war effort. For example he generalized upon the course that Hitler would pursue if he defeated Russia:

And even the carnage and ruin which his victory, should he gain it...will bring upon the Russian people, will be itself only a stepping-stone to the attempt to plunge the four or five hundred millions who live in China, and the three hundred and fifty millions who live in India, into that bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the Swastika flaunts itself. It is not too much to say here this summer evening that the lives and happiness of a thousand million additional people are menaced with brutal Nazi violence.⁵²³

Using generalization he compared Nazism to Communism:

The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite and racial domination. It excels all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression.⁵²⁴

And about the Russian danger he said:

The Russian danger is therefore our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe.⁵²⁵

Inductive reasoning--argument from causation. Churchill used argument from causation when he explained the building of the German military machine: "The terrible military machine, which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangster to build up year by year from almost nothing...."⁵²⁶ The result of the Russian invasion he illustrated with argument from causation:

Poor as are the Russian peasants, workmen and soldiers, he must steal from them their daily bread, he must devour their

⁵²³Ibid., p.171. ⁵²⁴Ibid. ⁵²⁵Ibid., p.174.

⁵²⁶Ibid., p.170.

harvests; he must rob them of the oil which drives their ploughs; and thus produce a famine without example in human history.⁵²⁷

The end objective of the Allies in the war effort was that of conquering Hitler. In describing the road to the achievement of this objective Churchill again used causation;

We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. From this nothing will turn us--nothing. We will never parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang.⁵²⁸

The argument from causation was the course of action drawn from the aim or objective.

Inductive reasoning--argument from analogy. The "Fourth Climacteric" contained two analogies. One analogy was a comparison of the Russian invasion and other German invasions;

Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed compact and international faith which we have witnessed in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, and which Hitler's accomplice and jackal Mussolini so faithfully imitated in the case of Greece.⁵²⁹

The second analogy was a historical one drawn on the war effort of the Russians during World War I; "...my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe; when they fought with so much valour and constancy...."⁵³⁰

Deductive reasoning--argument from syllogism and enthymeme.

There were two enthymemes posed in the address. Churchill used one

⁵²⁷Ibid., p.171. ⁵²⁸Ibid., p.172. ⁵²⁹Ibid., p.170.

⁵³⁰Ibid., p.172.

such enthymeme when he spoke of the reasons why the German military machine must always be moving:

The terrible military machine...must be in continual motion... it must be fed, not only with flesh but with oil....So now this bloodthirsty gutteranipe must launch his mechanized armies upon new fields of slaughter, pillage and devastation.⁵³¹

Then he posed another enthymeme showing the course of action which Britain would pursue in relation to the Russian crisis: "Any man or state who fights on against Nazidom will have our aid.... It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and the Russian people."⁵³²

Ethos

Sincerity. There was a great deal of ethos building sincerity throughout the entire address. This sincerity was demonstrated in the Prime Minister's willingness to face reality and shoulder the responsibility for problems. In this way he discussed the rise of German power; "The terrible military machine, which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up year by year from almost nothing...."⁵³³ He had earlier attacked Communism and now, even though Russia had become an ally, he refused to retract what he had earlier said:

No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have for the last twenty-five years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding.⁵³⁴

He stood ready to give aid to Russia even though at an earlier period

⁵³¹Ibid., p.170. ⁵³²Ibid., pp.172-73. ⁵³³Ibid., p.170

⁵³⁴Ibid., p.171.

he had criticized its form of government:

...we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it, as we shall, faithfully and steadfastly to the end.⁵³⁵

And he was sincere in telling his audience of the dangers which still awaited the nation: "His invasion of Russia is no more than a prelude to an attempted invasion of the British Isles."⁵³⁶

Friendliness. Churchill demonstrated a considerable amount of friendliness during the address; most of it was toward the Russians:

...my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe; when they fought with so much valour and constancy, and helped us to gain a victory from all share in which, alas, they were—through no fault of ours—utterly cut off.⁵³⁷

...we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and to the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it, as we shall, faithfully and steadfastly to the end.⁵³⁸

...if Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aims or slackening of effort in the great Democracies who are resolved upon his doom, he is woefully mistaken. On the contrary, we shall be fortified and encouraged in our efforts to rescue mankind from his tyranny. We shall be strengthened and not weakened in determination and in resources.⁵³⁹

The Russian danger is therefore our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe.⁵⁴⁰

Sympathy. He used one expression of sympathy. This too was for the Russian people: "Poor as are the Russian peasants, workmen and

⁵³⁵Ibid., p.173. ⁵³⁶Ibid., p.174. ⁵³⁷Ibid., p.172.

⁵³⁸Ibid., p.173. ⁵³⁹Ibid. ⁵⁴⁰Ibid., p.174.

soldiers, he must steal from them their daily bread; he must devour their harvests; he must rob them of the oil which drives their ploughs...."⁵⁴¹

Knowledge of subject. Churchill demonstrated a knowledge of his subject in "The Fourth Climacteric" when he spoke of the German invasion of Russia. He knew the background of the preparations for that invasion and even the moment when it took place. He also exhibited a knowledge of the military feats of the Royal Air Force over France. He spoke of the Lend-lease enactment of the American Congress and its effects on British production and the British war effort.

Devotion to cause. The Prime Minister showed devotion to his cause when he spoke about England's dedication to that cause:

I have to make the declaration, but can you doubt what our policy will be? We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. From this nothing will turn us—nothing. We will never parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until with God's help we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its peoples from his yoke.⁵⁴²

Pathos

Anger. There were many phrases and paragraphs in the address which contained elements of anger and this anger was usually aimed at Germany and Hitler:

...suddenly without declaration of war, without even an ultimatum, German bombs rained down from the air upon the Russian cities, the German troops violated the frontiers; and an hour later the German Ambassador, who till the night before was lavishing his assurances of friendship, almost of alliance,

⁵⁴¹Ibid., p.171. ⁵⁴²Ibid., p.172.

upon the Russians, called upon the Russian Foreign Minister to tell him that a state of war existed between Germany and Russia.⁵⁴³

Hitler is a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder. Not content with having all Europe under his heel, or else terrorized into various forms of abject submission, he must now carry his work of butchery and desolation among the vast multitudes of Russia and of Asia.⁵⁴⁴

It was in this address that Churchill applied his famous epithet to Hitler; "So now this bloodthirsty guttersnipe must launch his mechanized armies upon new fields of slaughter, pillage and devastation."⁵⁴⁵ In a tone of anger he made a very unfavourable comparison of Nazism to Communism;

The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite and racial domination. It excels all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression.⁵⁴⁶

Love and friendship. Churchill used one very good example of love and friendship when he described the Russian people defending their homeland;

I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers have tilled from time immemorial. I see them guarding their homes where mothers and wives pray--ah yes, for there are times when all pray--for the safety of their loved ones, the return of the breadwinner, of their champion, of their protector. I see the ten thousand villages of Russia, where the means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where maidens laugh and children play.⁵⁴⁷

Enmity and hatred. As in the case of anger, the speech was full of enmity and hatred. Churchill demonstrated love toward the

⁵⁴³Ibid., p.170. ⁵⁴⁴Ibid. ⁵⁴⁵Ibid., p.171.

⁵⁴⁶Ibid. ⁵⁴⁷Ibid., pp.171-72.

Russian people but he had only enmity for the Germans and Italians;

The terrible military machine, which the world...allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up year by year from almost nothing, cannot stand idle lest it rust or fall to pieces. It must be in continual motion, grinding up human lives and trampling down the homes and rights of hundreds of millions of men. Moreover it must be fed, not only with flesh but with oil."⁵⁴⁸

He warned the world: "It is not too much to say here this summer evening that the lives and happiness of a thousand million additional people are now menaced with brutal Nazi violence."⁵⁴⁹

I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents fresh from cowing and tying-down of a dozen countries.... Behind all this glare, behind all this storm, I see that small group of villainous men who plan, organize and launch this cataract of horrors upon mankind.⁵⁵⁰

Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to organized states but to all representatives of that vile race of quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow-countrymen and the lands of their birth.⁵⁵¹

We shall bomb Germany by day as well as by night in an ever-increasing measure, casting upon them month by month a heavier discharge of bombs, and making the German people taste and gulp each month a sharper dose of the miseries they have showered upon mankind.⁵⁵²

Confidence. Churchill's confidence was demonstrated by the way in which he spoke of his cause and its triumph:

We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. From this nothing will turn us—nothing. We will never parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until with God's help we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its peoples from his yoke.⁵⁵³

⁵⁴⁸Ibid., pp.170-71. ⁵⁴⁹Ibid., p.171. ⁵⁵⁰Ibid., p.172.

⁵⁵¹Ibid. ⁵⁵²Ibid., p.173. ⁵⁵³Ibid., p.172.

He was confident enough in his cause, and its triumph, to make plans for the war-crimeals;

They--these quislings--like the Nazi leaders themselves, if not disposed of by their fellow-countrymen, which would save trouble, will be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the justice of the Allied tribunals.⁵⁵⁴

Indignation. Many of the passages cited to illustrate anger or enmity contained elements of indignation, the selection usually depended upon what appeared to be the stronger factor. However, Churchill clearly demonstrated indignation at the methods employed by Hitler in his aggression:

Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed contract and international faith which we have witnessed in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, and which Hitler's accomplice and jackal Mussolini so faithfully imitated in the case of Greece.⁵⁵⁵

Emulation. Churchill used emulation when he discussed the Royal Air Force; "...the Royal Air Force beat the Hun raiders out of the daylight air, and thus warded off the Nazi invasion of our Island while we were still ill-armed and ill-prepared."⁵⁵⁶ Then he said in another passage: "It is noteworthy that only yesterday the Royal Air Force, fighting inland over French territory, cut down with very small loss to themselves 28 of the Hun fighting machines...."⁵⁵⁷ He also employed it when he spoke of the Russians during World War I: "...my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe; when they fought with so much valour and constancy...."⁵⁵⁸

⁵⁵⁴Ibid., p.173. ⁵⁵⁵Ibid., p.170. ⁵⁵⁶Ibid., pp.171-72.

⁵⁵⁷Ibid., p.173. ⁵⁵⁸Ibid., p.172.

Contempt. Churchill showed contempt for his enemy--the Germans. He described their government as a "bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the Swastika flaunts itself."⁵⁵⁹ He also showed contempt for the German soldiers:

I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts. I see the German bombers and fighters in the sky, still smarting from many a British whipping, delighted to find what they believe is an easier and safer prey.⁵⁶⁰

ARRANGEMENT

The address, "The Fourth Climacteric", was organized into proem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The proem contained a review of what Churchill considered the three climacterics of the war: 1) the fall of France, 2) the British defeat of the daylight German air force, and 3) the American Lend-lease act. Then it posed a fourth which was the sudden invasion of Russia. The statement contained a discussion of the purposes of the Nazi regime and its objectives. It contained Churchill's comments on the defense, by the Russians, of their native land and on the necessity of sending these Russians aid. The argument was composed of the reasoned causes for Hitler's invasion of Russia. In his argument Churchill also tried to show how the Russian invasion was but a prelude to another attempt at the invasion of Britain. The epilogue comprised Churchill's pleas to the free world to take effective action while there was still time.

⁵⁵⁹Ibid., p.171. ⁵⁶⁰Ibid., p.172.

STYLE

Level. The style level was elevated. The address contained both enmity and hatred and love and friendship and its author sought to build these emotions with extensive use of figurative language and emotional appeal. The language and word choice were both highly descriptive and inspirational.

Diction and word choice. The word choice was Anglo-Saxon and the words for the most part were equally divided between polysyllabic and mono-syllabic structures. However, there was no use of long words whose meaning might have been difficult for the audience to comprehend or whose pronunciation might not have been readily understandable. The words and phrases were generally abstract and exceedingly full of imagery.

Sentence structure. Churchill used, for the most part, complex and simple sentences although there were also many compound and compound-complex sentences present. A sample paragraph illustrated this structure form:

The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite and racial domination. It smells all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression. No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have for the last twenty-five years. I will use any word that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding. The past with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies, flashes away. I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers have tilled from time immemorial. I see them guarding their homes where mothers and wives pray--ah yes, for there are times when all pray--for the safety of their loved ones, the return of the breadwinner, of their champion, of their protector. I see the ten thousand villages of Russia, where the means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still

primordial human joys, where maidens laugh and children play. I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents fresh from the cowing and tying-down of a dozen countries. I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts. I see the German bombers and fighters in the sky, still smarting from many a British whipping, delighted to find what they believe is an easier and a safer prey.⁵⁶¹

Rhetorical devices and figurative language.

Imagery. Churchill emphasized visual imagery throughout the entire address. He used it in reference to the enemy especially, the enemy before whom "France fell prostrate"⁵⁶² and thus left Britain "to face the storm alone."⁵⁶³ This was the foe who had "all Europe under his heel."⁵⁶⁴ There were many other passages in the speech where he used imagery; "...he must now carry his work of butchery and desolation among the vast multitudes of Russia and of Asia;"⁵⁶⁵ "The terrible military machine...must be in continual motion, grinding up human lives and trampling down the homes and the rights of hundreds of millions of men. Moreover it must be fed...;"⁵⁶⁶ "I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts."⁵⁶⁷ Churchill also built a picture of the invaded Russia for his audience;

I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding their homes where mothers and wives pray—ah yes, for there are times when all pray—for the safety of their loved ones, the return of the breadwinner, of their champion, of their protector. I see the ten thousand villages of Russia, where the means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where

⁵⁶¹Ibid., pp.171-72. ⁵⁶²Ibid., p.169. ⁵⁶³Ibid.

⁵⁶⁴Ibid., p.170. ⁵⁶⁵Ibid. ⁵⁶⁶Ibid., p.171.

⁵⁶⁷Ibid., p.172.

maidens laugh and children play. I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents fresh from the cowing and tying-down of a dozen countries.⁵⁶⁸

There were a few examples of kinesthetic imagery in the address: he spoke of the German air force as "still smarting from many a British whipping"⁵⁶⁹ and of "Hitler's blood-lust and the hateful appetites which have impelled or lured him on...."⁵⁷⁰

Simile. It contained a few examples of simile, perhaps the best and most clear was that in which he compared the German army to a swarm of locusts: "...the Hun soldiery plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts."⁵⁷¹

Metaphor. There were many metaphors in "The Fourth Climacteric"; as in the case of the other figures, most of them referred to the enemy: "...under the German hammer...;"⁵⁷² "...German bombs rained down from the air...;"⁵⁷³ "Hitler is a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder...;"⁵⁷⁴ "The terrible military machine...cannot stand idle lest it rust or fall to pieces...;"⁵⁷⁵ "...into that bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the Swastika flaunts itself...;"⁵⁷⁶ "...cataract of horrors...;"⁵⁷⁷ "...making the German people taste and gulp each month a sharper dose of the miseries they have showered upon mankind...;"⁵⁷⁸ "...the scene will be clear for the

⁵⁶⁸Ibid., pp.171-72. ⁵⁶⁹Ibid., p.172. ⁵⁷⁰Ibid., p.173.

⁵⁷¹Ibid., p.172. ⁵⁷²Ibid., p.169. ⁵⁷³Ibid., p.170.

⁵⁷⁴Ibid. ⁵⁷⁵Ibid., p.171. ⁵⁷⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷⁷Ibid., p.172. ⁵⁷⁸Ibid., p.173.

final act....⁵⁷⁹

Acclamation. Churchill used acclamation when he discussed the British Air Force; "...the Royal Air Force beat the Hun raiders out of the daylight air and thus warded off the Nazi invasion of our island while we were still ill-armed and ill-prepared."⁵⁸⁰ Later in the address he gave his compliments to the Royal Air Force again;

It is noteworthy that only yesterday the Royal Air Force, fighting inland over French territory, cut down with very small loss to themselves 28 of the Hun fighting machines in the air above the French soil they have invaded, defiled and profess to hold.⁵⁸¹

Churchill also spoke of the Russians with acclamation; "...the Russian people are defending their native soil...."⁵⁸² And they were defending it even as they had on another great occasion; "...my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe; when they fought with so much valeur and constancy, and helped to gain a victory...."⁵⁸³

Irony and satire. Churchill used satire once when he said of the invasion of Russia and Hitler's part in it; "All his usual formalities of perfidy were observed with scrupulous technique."⁵⁸⁴

Hyperbole. For emphasis he employed exaggeration or hyperbole. He commented on the Russian invasion; "Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed compact and international faith...."⁵⁸⁵ This invasion would

⁵⁷⁹Ibid., p.174. ⁵⁸⁰Ibid., p.169. ⁵⁸¹Ibid., p.173.

⁵⁸²Ibid., p.170. ⁵⁸³Ibid., p.172. ⁵⁸⁴Ibid., p.170.

⁵⁸⁵Ibid.

produce "a famine without example in human history."⁵⁸⁶ After the invasion of Russia conditions might have grown worse; "It is not too much to say here this summer evening that the lives and happiness of a thousand million additional people are now menaced with brutal Nazi violence."⁵⁸⁷ The German war machine was a terrible thing and he said "it excels all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression."⁵⁸⁸

Literary quotation. Churchill did not quote literature as such, however, under this general grouping, he referred several times to history and past fact. He spoke of the invasions of other countries earlier in the war, invasions which were history;

Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed compact and international faith which we have witnessed in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, and which Hitler's accomplice and jackal Mussolini so faithfully imitated in the case of Greece.⁵⁸⁹

He also mentioned his record as an opponent of Communism;

No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have for the last twenty-five years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding. The past with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies, flashes away.⁵⁹⁰

Epithet. The Prime Minister applied several epithets to both Hitler and Mussolini. He called Mussolini, "Hitler's accomplice and jackal...."⁵⁹¹ And he referred to the German army as "Nazi gangsters."⁵⁹² Hitler himself he called a "bloodthirsty gutter-snipe."⁵⁹³

⁵⁸⁶Ibid., p.171.

⁵⁸⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸⁸Ibid.

⁵⁸⁹Ibid., p.170.

⁵⁹⁰Ibid., p.171.

⁵⁹¹Ibid., p.170.

⁵⁹²Ibid., p.171.

⁵⁹³Ibid.

Metonymy and synecdoche. Churchill employed some synecdoche when he referred to "His Majesty's Government,"⁵⁹⁴ and to the decisions in "which the great Dominions will, in due course, concur...."⁵⁹⁵ Then he frequently referred to Hitler instead of to the German armies or German government.

Anaphora and epistrophe. For word and sound effect Churchill made extensive use of anaphora; "...without declaration of war, without even an ultimatum...;"⁵⁹⁶ "The terrible military machine, which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangsters to build...;"⁵⁹⁷ "Poor as are the Russian peasants, workmen and soldiers, he must steal...he must devour...he must rob...."⁵⁹⁸

We will never parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until with God's help we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its peoples from his yoke.⁵⁹⁹

Alliteration. Churchill also used alliteration for sound effect; "...solemnly signed...;"⁶⁰⁰ "...military machine...;"⁶⁰¹ "...dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses...;"⁶⁰² "...declare the decision...;"⁶⁰³ "...day's delay...."⁶⁰⁴

Climax. Churchill closed his speech with climax:

The Russian danger is therefore our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in

⁵⁹⁴Ibid., p.172.

⁵⁹⁷Ibid.

⁶⁰⁰Ibid., p.170.

⁶⁰³Ibid.

⁵⁹⁵Ibid.

⁵⁹⁸Ibid., p.171.

⁶⁰¹Ibid.

⁶⁰⁴Ibid.

⁵⁹⁶Ibid., p.170.

⁵⁹⁹Ibid., p.172.

⁶⁰²Ibid., p.172.

in every quarter of the globe. Let us learn the lessons already taught by such cruel experience. Let us redouble our exertions, and strike with united strength while life and power remain.⁶⁰⁵

VII. COAL AND WAR

INVENTION

Logos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. Churchill's evidence in "Coal and War" was primarily statistical and covered the various aspects of the war situation as he saw it to exist on October 31, 1942. He was speaking to coal miners and one of the things he discussed with them was the fuel question and the Minister of Fuel: "I am told that in the few months since he has been Minister of Fuel, Power and Light, out of 1,600 Pit Production Committees he has actually visited and addressed 714."⁶⁰⁶ Then he discussed production:

Factories, plants and mills begun two years ago are now completed... the great wheels are turning, turning out the apparatus of war, and they are consuming in many cases 40 per cent more fuel, largely in the form of gas, than was the case last year.⁶⁰⁷

Turning from domestic production figures he spoke of tanks and other implements of war, contrasting 1940 with the present: "...we had not at that time fifty tanks, whereas we now have 10,000 or 12,000. We had not at that time fifty tanks; we had a couple of hundred field guns, some of them brought out of the

⁶⁰⁵Ibid., p.174.

⁶⁰⁶Churchill, End of the Beginning, p.253.

⁶⁰⁷Ibid., p.254.

museums."608

Although it is true that there will be many more U-boats working next year than there are now, and there may be 300 to 400 at work now, yet we have a vast construction of escort vessels, submarine-hunting vessels, afoot, as well as replacements of merchant ships....609

His final consideration was that of the threat of invasion which the enemy still posed. Here he again relied on statistical evidence;

When I see the number of Divisions there are in France and realise that he can bring back in a few months, at any time in the Spring, 60 or 70 more Divisions, while perhaps lying quiescent or adopting a defensive attitude or perhaps giving some ground on the Russian front, I cannot feel that the danger of invasion can be put out of our minds.610

This threat was serious, not only because of the number of German troops close by, but also because Britain had sent many of her soldiers abroad: "We have sent half a million men from this country to Egypt, to India, to the great regions which lie south of the Caspian Sea, during this present year...."611

Authority. Churchill relied very heavily upon the use of authority in this address. His authority ranged from Hitler to God. He began with the Minister of Fuel, however: "As he told you just now, the great munition plants are coming into production. Factories, plants and mills begun two years ago are now completed."612 When he referred to the Minister of Fuel he was speaking on production and with this same purpose he turned to the "White Paper":

The White Paper has placed the coal industry upon the basis of a national service for the duration of the war, and for a

608Ibid., p.256. 609Ibid., p.258. 610Ibid., p.259.

611Ibid. 612Ibid., p.254.

further period until Parliament has reviewed the scheme in the light of the experience gained.⁶¹³

He then turned from coal to war and discussed the problems of its fighting with his audience. Here he referred to Field-Marshal Smuts: "But I have not come to address you mainly about coal. I have come to talk mainly about the war, and that is why I brought the Field-Marshal with me."⁶¹⁴ Lloyd George was at the convention along with Churchill and Smuts and the Prime Minister pointed to statements which Lloyd George had made in regard to the war: "You, Major Lloyd George, have spoken about the past, about the crisis of 1940, and we ought from time to time to look back to that astonishing experience in our lives."⁶¹⁵ His next authority was, by inference, the Divine:

I sometimes have a feeling, in fact I have it very strongly, a feeling of interference. I want to stress that. I have the feeling that we have a guardian because we serve a great cause, and that we shall have that guardian so long as we serve that cause faithfully.⁶¹⁶

He told the miners of three dangers which the country still faced. The third, and possibly the worst, he warned, was advanced by the Gestapo itself:

The last hope of the guilty Huns is a stalemate. Their idea has been made very plain in a series of speeches all delivered in the last month by Hitler, Goring, Goebbels and others, all defining and describing one conception, the idea of making a vast fortress of the greater part of Europe, with the Russian cornfields worked by slaves from the subjugated nations and by the prisoners of war....⁶¹⁷

Churchill ended his speech by thanking his audience in "the name

⁶¹³Ibid.

⁶¹⁴Ibid.

⁶¹⁵Ibid., p.255.

⁶¹⁶Ibid., p.257.

⁶¹⁷Ibid., p.260.

of His Majesty's Government, representing all Parties, and personally, from the bottom of my heart."⁶¹⁸

Sign. Churchill's use of sign in "Coal and War" was rather extensive. His first illustration of sign related to the newspapers which, if printed, were read, or might be read, by the wrong people: "I thought it would be a good thing if we met in private...the difficulty about making reported speeches is—look at all the ears that listen, look at the different audiences that have to be considered!"⁶¹⁹ He also used sign in discussing the Russian invasion and Hitler's mistakes in that invasion:

...I thought it very likely in the early Summer that he would attack Turkey and try to by-pass Russia, but it soon became clear, some weeks before, that he intended to invade Russia in order to steal the larger part of the Russian cornlands and factories....⁶²⁰

Another mistake was his forgetting about the Russian Winter. You know it gets cold there, very cold indeed. The snow falls down and lies on the ground, and an icy wind blows in across the Steppes.⁶²¹

Churchill's reference to a "Divine Guardian" was also an argument from sign: "I have a feeling sometimes that we have a guardian because we serve a great cause...and we shall have that guardian so long as we serve that cause faithfully."⁶²² Using argument from sign, he discussed with his audience the German U-boat question and the possibilities of its solution:

Now we see our way through...there will be many more U-boats working next year than there are now...yet we have a vast construction of escort vessels, submarine-hunting vessels,

⁶¹⁸Ibid., p.261.

⁶¹⁹Ibid., p.253.

⁶²⁰Ibid., p.256.

⁶²¹Ibid.

⁶²²Ibid., p.257.

afloat, as well as replacements of merchant ships; and in the United States, which has resources in steel far greater than ours and which is not so closely and deeply involved at present, a programme on astronomical lines has been developed and is being carried forward in the construction both of escort vessels and of merchant ships.⁶²³

Churchill made use of two more arguments from sign. The first dealt with the German position in Europe and the significance of that position: "Hitler lies in the centre, and across all the great railway lines of Europe he can move very rapidly forces from one side to the other."⁶²⁴ The second example of sign referred to the old question of invasion:

...I do not think such a crisis can recur only because we are armed, because we are ready, because we are organised, because we have the weapons, because we have great numbers of trained men.⁶²⁵

Assumption. "Coal and War" contained several arguments based on assumption. In his first assumption the Prime Minister turned back to Britain's part in the early war years: "We had in this small Island, this Island lost in the northern mists, rendered a service to the whole world which will be acknowledged even when a thousand years have passed."⁶²⁶ And in this same tone he added another: "Well was it for Europe, well was it for the world, that the light shone out which the British people had carefully nourished, that a light shone out from this Island to guide them all forward upon their paths."⁶²⁷ A third assumption predicted what would have happened if Hitler had invaded the "Island" in 1940: "Of course, we should have gone on fighting...."⁶²⁸ Perhaps the biggest

⁶²³Ibid., p.258. ⁶²⁴Ibid., p.259. ⁶²⁵Ibid.

⁶²⁶Ibid., p.255. ⁶²⁷Ibid. ⁶²⁸Ibid., p.256.

assumption he made dealt not with the past but with the future when he spoke of the air war: "We have got that supremacy in Egypt now. Presently we shall have it everywhere."⁶²⁹

Loges—artistic proof

Inductive reasoning—argument from generalization. As in argument from sign, Churchill posed many generalizations from past fact. After Lloyd George had finished speaking about the crisis of 1940, Churchill added: "Unprepared, almost unarmed, left alone, this country never flinched. With one voice it defied the tyrant. That was indeed our finest hour, and it was from that hour that our deliverance came."⁶³⁰ He formed another generalization on the reasons for the Japanese entrance into the war:

It was most fortunate that, led away by their dark conspiracies and schemes, dizzy and daskled from poring over plans, they sprang out upon a peaceful nation with whom they were at that time in peaceful parley, and were led away and tottered over the edge and, for the sake of sinking half a dozen ships of war and beating up a naval port, brought out against them...the United States.⁶³¹

He also made a generalization concerning the type of man on the German General Staff; "...this tremendous association of people who think about nothing but war, studying war, ruthless scientific war...."⁶³²

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. "Coal and War" contained many arguments based on causation. In his discussion of the home situation Churchill applied it to the coal supply for domestic consumption and its relation to the problems of total

⁶²⁹Ibid., p.260. ⁶³⁰Ibid., p.255. ⁶³¹Ibid., p.257.

⁶³²Ibid., p.259.

war production;

...I do not want to cut the cottage homes too sharply. The people must have warmth for their spirits and for their war efficiency, and one can easily go too far in that direction.⁶³³

He used a causal argument when he explained why it was that the mistakes which the British had made thus far in the war had not brought serious repercussions;

We have made mistakes, we have made miscalculations; but we are being saved from the consequences of our shortcomings by the incomparably greater mistakes and blunders which these all-wise glittering dictators have perpetrated.⁶³⁴

There were many miners in the army, men who wanted to go back to the pits; however, said Churchill, this was not possible for;

The miners are amongst the best fighting men we have. The Army needs them, and you would wreck every platoon and every section if you pulled out those men who have made their friends and made their comradeships and know the work and have been trained for over two years in many cases.⁶³⁵

To have pulled the miners out of the services would have been to cause serious damage to the British military machine. Another causal relationship was used to illustrate the difficulty which the United States was having in getting men and supplies across the Atlantic and Pacific;

The whole power of the United States to manifest itself in this war depends upon the power to move ships across the sea. Their mighty power is restricted, it is restricted by those very oceans which have protected them. The oceans which were their shield have now become a bar, a prison house, through which they are struggling to bring armies, fleets and air forces to bear upon the great common problems we have to face.⁶³⁶

Even the war, according to the Prime Minister, could have been traced

⁶³³Ibid., p.254. ⁶³⁴Ibid., p.255. ⁶³⁵Ibid., p.257.

⁶³⁶Ibid., p.258.

to a cause-effect relationship:

They kept their Great Staff together. Although their weapons were taken away, this tremendous association of people...was held together, thousands of them, and they were able to train and build up an Army which, as you saw, in a few weeks shattered to pieces the once famous Army of France....⁶³⁷

Deductive reasoning—argument from syllogism and enthymeme.

This address contained several enthymemes. The opening lines of the speech were framed in terms of an enthymeme: "War is made with steel, and steel is made with coal."⁶³⁸ Churchill's argument in favor of military preparedness was put in enthymematic form: "The Army must be ready. It must be ready when the opportunity comes, as come it will, so some must stay in the pits and others must stay in the Army."⁶³⁹ There were two enthymemes present in his statement on the U-boat problem:

Now let me speak about the dangers which lie ahead. The first of all our dangers is the U-boat peril. That is a very great danger. Our food, our means of making war, our life, all depend upon the passage of ships across the sea.⁶⁴⁰

In the closing division of the speech, where he discussed the role that Britain was playing the war, he used another enthymeme: "...if these men can strike us and strike us at the heart, the world is theirs."⁶⁴¹

Ethos

Simplicity. A quality of simplicity was demonstrated in "Coal and War" when Churchill, in very plain and simple terms, said of his

⁶³⁷Ibid., p.259. ⁶³⁸Ibid., p.259. ⁶³⁹Ibid., p.258.

⁶⁴⁰Ibid. ⁶⁴¹Ibid., p.259.

colleague, Field-Marshal Smuts:

...I brought the Field-Marshal with me. It was a surprise, but also a prize. He and I are old comrades. I cannot say there has never been a kick in our gallop. I was examined by him when I was a prisoner of war, and I escaped; but we made an honourable and generous peace on both sides, and for the last forty years we have been comrades working together.⁶⁴²

Sincerity. Churchill was speaking to coal miners and he used sincerity in his approach and thought; his call for increased production was one example:

I...come here to-day to call upon everyone in that industry, managements and miners alike, hand in hand, to sweep away all remaining obstacles to maximum production. That is the object with which this meeting is called, but here let me say this. I am very sorry that we have had to debar so many miners from going to the war in the Armed Forces. I respect their feelings, but we cannot afford it; we cannot allow it.⁶⁴³

With sincerity he admitted that the government had succeeded in part due to the faults of the enemy: "...I am not going to apologise, and I have to pick my words carefully here, for the fact that we are alive, still alive and kicking. But, Mr. Chairman, I frankly admit that we owe much to the mistakes of our enemies."⁶⁴⁴ He used sincerity when he spoke of the job that the miner had to do; "...some must stay in the pits and others must stay in the Army. Both are needed, both are equally needed, and for both there is equal credit."⁶⁴⁵ Churchill then told the British people that the war was far from being over and that the road ahead would be rough; "Do not let people suggest to you that the major dangers of this war are past."⁶⁴⁶ It was to become a different kind of war; "...now it is a long cold strain

⁶⁴²Ibid., pp.254-55. ⁶⁴³Ibid., p.254. ⁶⁴⁴Ibid., p.255.

⁶⁴⁵Ibid., p.258. ⁶⁴⁶Ibid., p.259.

we have to bear, harder perhaps for the British to bear than the shocks which they know so well how to take."⁶⁴⁷

Friendliness. Churchill had excluded the Press from the conference, but he felt no animosity toward it and he took care too, to point this out:

I thought it would be a good thing if we met in private. The Press are our good friends, they play their part in the battle, a valuable and an indispensable part, but the difficulty about making reported speeches is—look at all the ears that listen, look at the different audiences that have to be considered;⁶⁴⁸

He used this same tone of friendliness when speaking of the Minister of Fuel:

I am very glad indeed to see the success Gwilym is making of his extremely hard job. He bears a name which is a household word, and he is adding the distinction which a second generation can impart to such a name; the distinction of great services rendered by the father, sustained and carried forward by the son.⁶⁴⁹

Churchill spoke, too, of the Allies in a genial manner; after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbour he called it an act that "brought out against them the implacable energies and the measureless power of the 130 million educated people who live in the United States."⁶⁵⁰ He was also friendly towards the Russians, especially in relation to the German invasion; he said of the German army: "...only now in the vast spaces of Russia is confronted with the immense and valiant race which has stood against them...."⁶⁵¹ Of the Allies in general he said: "My Lords and Gentlemen, we have great Allies. We are no longer alone. Thirty nations march with us."⁶⁵²

Sympathy. As Prime Minister he showed understanding and sympathy

⁶⁴⁷Ibid., p.261. ⁶⁴⁸Ibid., p.253. ⁶⁴⁹Ibid., p.254.

⁶⁵⁰Ibid., p.257. ⁶⁵¹Ibid., p.259. ⁶⁵²Ibid., p.260.

for the miners upon whom the increased production quotas were imposing hardships;

The output has improved in recent weeks, and I well know what an effort that must require because of the adverse circumstances which war-time conditions impose upon production, but still it is not enough.⁶⁵³

Knowledge of subject. Churchill knew the number of Pit Production Committees in operation and he was familiar with the number that the Minister of Fuel had personally visited. He had a knowledge of fuel consumption needs, production needs and quotas, etc., and he evidenced a comprehension of what was going on in Europe in the Reichstag.

Devotion to cause. A devotion to cause was suggested in the way in which Churchill spoke of his cause when he looked back to its darkest moment: "Unprepared, almost unarmed, left alone, this country never flinched. With one voice it defied the tyrant. That was indeed our finest hour, and it was from that hour that our deliverance came."⁶⁵⁴ He also showed devotion to cause when he associated his cause with something beyond the material; "I have the feeling that we have a guardian because we serve a great cause, and that we shall have that guardian so long as we serve that cause faithfully."⁶⁵⁵ He closed with this thought; "All depends upon inflexible willpower based on the conviction shared by a whole people that the cause is good and righteous."⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵³Ibid., p.254. ⁶⁵⁴Ibid., p.255. ⁶⁵⁵Ibid., p.257.

⁶⁵⁶Ibid., pp.260-61.

Pathos

Love and friendship. His friendship and respect for the coal industry was strong throughout the address; he demonstrated this when he said: "This is the first and only industry I have addressed as an industry during the time of my responsibility. I am doing so because coal is...the measure of our whole war effort."⁶⁵⁷ This sense of comradeship came out again when he urged the miners who wanted to join the armed services to remain in the mines:

Besides the need for their services in the pits, there is danger in the pits too, and where there is danger there is honour. "Act well thy part, there all the honour lies," and that is the motto I want to give out to all those who in an infinite variety of ways are playing an equally worthy part in the consummation of our high purpose.⁶⁵⁸

Enmity and hatred. The clearest suggestions of enmity and hatred in "Coal and War" came from Churchill's references to the enemy: "...the tyrant...;"⁶⁵⁹ "...these all-wise glittering dictators...;"⁶⁶⁰ "...led away by their dark conspiracies and schemes, dizzy and dazzled from poring over plans...;"⁶⁶¹ "...the bestial cruelties of the Nazis...bloody acts of terrorism."⁶⁶²

Fear. He used fear as an element to strengthen the war effort; he told the British people;

Think what they would do to us if they got here. Think what they would do to us, we who have barred their way to the loot of the whole world, we whom they hate the most because they dread and envy us the most. Think what they would do to us.⁶⁶³

And the chances were good that the Germans might have still been

⁶⁵⁷Ibid., p.253. ⁶⁵⁸Ibid., p.254. ⁶⁵⁹Ibid., p.255.

⁶⁶⁰Ibid. ⁶⁶¹Ibid., p.256. ⁶⁶²Ibid., p.257.

⁶⁶³Ibid.

able to threaten Britain;

He has now, across in France and the Low Countries, a German Army as large as we have in this country, apart of course from the Home Guard.... When I see the number of Divisions there are in France and realise that he can bring back in a few months, at any time in the Spring, 60 or 70 more Divisions, while perhaps lying quiescent or adopting a defensive attitude or perhaps giving some ground on the Russian front, I cannot feel that the danger of invasion can be put out of our minds.⁶⁶⁴

Confidence. Churchill showed almost unlimited confidence in the future. He seemed convinced that a break would come in the war and he urged that all be prepared for this break when it came, especially the Army: "The Army must be ready. It must be ready when the opportunity comes, as come it will...."⁶⁶⁵ And he was confident in Britain's ability to prevent another crisis similar to that of 1940;

We got through one supreme crisis where we might have been snuffed out, and now I do not think such a crisis can recur only because we are armed, because we are ready, because we are organised, because we have the weapons, because we have great numbers of trained men....⁶⁶⁶

In the closing division of the speech he made two very confident references to the future: "...there is another great ally on the way—supremacy in the air. We have got that supremacy in Egypt now. Presently we shall have it everywhere."⁶⁶⁷ And to the miners and the world he said: "We shall not fail."⁶⁶⁸

Pity. He expressed a great deal of pity for the people who were under the yoke of tyranny in Europe. He told his audience about their plight;

One has only to look at the overwhelming evidence which pours in

⁶⁶⁴Ibid., p.259. ⁶⁶⁵Ibid., p.258. ⁶⁶⁶Ibid., p.259.

⁶⁶⁷Ibid., p.260. ⁶⁶⁸Ibid., p.261.

day by day of the bestial cruelties of the Nazis and the fearful misery of Europe in all the lands into which they have penetrated; the people ground down, exploited, spied upon, terrorised, shot by platoons of soldiers, day after day the executions, and every kind of petty vexation added to those dark and bloody acts of terrorism.⁶⁶⁹

A second note of pity was evidenced when he spoke of the waste of precious cargo in the U-boat conflict; "...what a terrible waste it is to think of all these great ships that are sunk, full of priceless cargo...."⁶⁷⁰

Indignation. The British Isles were under criticism for having escaped the horrors of conquest; at this Churchill became indignant;

I do not think the British have any need to apologise for being alive. When I see critics in other countries, and not only in other countries, and a stream of criticism which would suggest that we were an unworthy nation; that we were an exploiting nation; that our contribution to world progress has been wanting, nothing is less true. Well was it for Europe, well was it for the world, that the light shone out which the British people had carefully nourished, that a light shone out from this Island to guide them all forward upon their paths.⁶⁷¹

Emulation. Churchill's use of emulation came in the closing paragraph in which he urged the miners to look at tomorrow;

We must not cast away our great deliverance; we must carry our work to its final conclusion. We shall not fail, and then some day, when children ask "what did you do to win this inheritance for us, and to make our name so respected among men?" one will say: "I was a fighter pilot"; another will say: "I was in the Submarine Service"; another: "I marched with the Eighth Army"; a fourth will say: "None of you could have lived without the convoys and the Merchant Seamen"; and you in your turn will say, with equal pride and with equal right: "We cut the coal."⁶⁷²

ARRANGEMENT

The order of "Coal and War" was in the pattern of Aristotle's

⁶⁶⁹Ibid., p.257. ⁶⁷⁰Ibid., p.258. ⁶⁷¹Ibid., p.255.

⁶⁷²Ibid., p.261.

proem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The proem consisted of the introduction, by Churchill, of himself and his colleagues and then a brief survey of the war time fuel production situation. The statement posed the need for continued vigilance and restraint in order that Britain might be kept constantly strong and ready. Then, in the argument, he examined three dangers which made this constant vigilance necessary. These arguments were the threat of invasion; the strength of the German Army; and the possibility of a stalemate in Europe. The epilogue summarized Churchill's statement of the problem, the arguments supporting the statement and a consideration of the miner's role in the future.

STYLE

Level. The level of style in "Coal and War" was upper middle. There were passages where the use of figurative language was very prevalent; however, for the most part, the speech was flowing but not highly figurative or sublime. There was an element of elevation to the sublime in the epilogue but it was only there that a great deal of emphasis was laid upon the elevated style.

Diction and word choice. Churchill was speaking to a gathering of coal miners and mine owners and he directed his speech to their level of understanding. The speech, in terms of word choice, was all Anglo-Saxon and the greater number of the words were poly-syllabic. There were no words with which his audience was probably not familiar. He used imagery and some abstract language, especially in the epilogue, but the greater part of the discourse was direct and concrete.

Sentence structure. Most of the sentences in "Coal and War" were either complex or simple. Churchill used compound and compound-complex sentences, certainly, but the greater number were not of these types. A paragraph taken from near the middle of the speech illustrated the sentence structure:

I sometimes have a feeling, in fact I have it very strongly, a feeling of interference. I want to stress that. I have a feeling sometimes that some guiding hand has interfered. I have the feeling that we have a guardian because we serve a great cause, and that we shall have that guardian so long as we serve that cause faithfully. And what a cause it is! One has only to look at the overwhelming evidence which pours in day by day of the bestial cruelties of the Nazis and the fearful misery of Europe in all the lands into which they have penetrated; the people ground down, exploited, spied upon, terrorised, shot by platoons of soldiers, day after day the executions, and every kind of petty vexation added to those dark and bloody acts of terrorism. Think what they would do to us if they got here. Think what they would do to us, we who have barred their way to the loot of the whole world, we whom they hate the most because they dread and envy us the most. Think what they would do to us.⁶⁷³

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Churchill used quite a lot of figurative language in the speech, but, as the level of style indicated, most of the figures came in the second half of the address.

Imagery. For purposes of inspiration Churchill employed a great deal of imagery, most of it visual. He asked the miners to "sweep away all remaining obstacles to maximum production."⁶⁷⁴ Speaking of his relations with Smuts he said; "I cannot say there has never been a kick in our gallop."⁶⁷⁵ And he described the British Isles in picture words: "We had in this small Island, this Island lost in the northern mists, rendered a service to the whole world which will be

⁶⁷³ibid., p.257. ⁶⁷⁴ibid., p.254. ⁶⁷⁵ibid., p.255.

acknowledged even when a thousand years have passed."⁶⁷⁶ He also used visual imagery to describe this service: "...the light shone out which the British people had carefully nourished... a light shone out from this Island to guide them all forward upon their paths."⁶⁷⁷ He referred to the peoples of Europe as "ground down" and told his audience that they were facing "dark and bloody acts of terrorism."⁶⁷⁸ Of tomorrow he remarked: "Let it be the glory of our country to lead this world out of the dark valley into the broader and more genial sunshine."⁶⁷⁹

Irony and satire. Churchill used some satire and irony. He said to the critics of Britain: "I do not think the British have any need to apologise for being alive."⁶⁸⁰ He used his satire against the enemy: "...these all-wise glittering dictators...."⁶⁸¹ Then: "...already they are receiving what they gave, with interest—with compound interest. Soon they will get a bonus."⁶⁸² The Prime Minister also considered Hitler's invasion of Russia in an ironical light:

...he intended to invade Russia in order to steal the larger part of the Russian cornlands and factories and to make it into a great slave area ruled over by the Herrenvolk; but he reckoned without his host.... Another mistake was his forgetting about the Russian Winter. You know, it gets cold there, very cold indeed. The snow falls down and lies on the ground, and an icy wind blows in across the Steppes.⁶⁸³

Contrast. Churchill made one use of contrast when he discussed the possibility of a counter offensive at some point in the future. He referred to this invasion as an "invasion not to conquer and pillage,

⁶⁷⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷⁷Ibid.

⁶⁷⁸Ibid., p.256.

⁶⁷⁹Ibid., p.261.

⁶⁸⁰Ibid., p.255.

⁶⁸¹Ibid.

⁶⁸²Ibid., p.260.

⁶⁸³Ibid., p.256.

invasion to liberate and rescue."⁶⁸⁴

Anaphora and epistrophe. Churchill made extensive use of anaphora in his address to the miners: "...we cannot afford it; we cannot allow it."⁶⁸⁵ He used it in discussing Britain's part early in the war: "Well was it for Europe, well was it for the world...;"⁶⁸⁶ "We have made mistakes, we have made miscalculations...;"⁶⁸⁷ "...however brave they may be, however ready to give their lives, however proud to give their lives...;"⁶⁸⁸ "We are the target. We are the prize."⁶⁸⁹ And he used one figure containing epistrophe: "...we whom they hate the most because they dread and envy us the most."⁶⁹⁰

Hyperbole. Churchill employed hyperbole when he spoke of the American and British war efforts: "...the implacable energies and the measureless power of the 130 million educated people who live in the United States."⁶⁹¹ He also used hyperbole in discussing the role of miners in the armed services: "The miners are amongst the best fighting men we have. The Army needs them, and you would wreck every platoon and every section if you pulled out those men...."⁶⁹² As for the total war program, he said: "...a programme on astronomical lines has been developed and is being carried forward in the construction both of escort vessels and of merchant ships."⁶⁹³

Metonymy and synecdoche. An occasional use was made of

⁶⁸⁴Ibid., p.258. ⁶⁸⁵Ibid., p.254. ⁶⁸⁶Ibid., p.255.

⁶⁸⁷Ibid. ⁶⁸⁸Ibid., p.256. ⁶⁸⁹Ibid., p.259. ⁶⁹⁰Ibid., p.257.

⁶⁹¹Ibid. ⁶⁹²Ibid. ⁶⁹³Ibid., p.258.

metonymy. He used it in speaking of the reporters; "The Press are our good friends...."⁶⁹⁴ And he used it in reference to Hitler; "Hitler lies in the centre and across all the great railway lines of Europe...."⁶⁹⁵ And Churchill also employed synecdoche "...the difficulty about making reported speeches is--look at all the ears that listen...;"⁶⁹⁶ "...this country never flinched. With one voice it defied the tyrant."⁶⁹⁷

Literary quotation. Churchill used a literary quotation as a motto for the miners as they went back to their pits or off to the battle fronts: "'Act well thy part, there all the honour lies,' and that is the motto I want to give out to all those who...are playing an equally worthy part in the consummation of our high purpose."⁶⁹⁸

Alliteration. The Prime Minister used alliteration to give emphasis to his condemnation of the Japanese; "...dizzy and dazzled from poring over plans...."⁶⁹⁹

Climax. Churchill closed his address with climax;

We shall not fail, and then some day, when children ask "what did you do to win this inheritance for us, and to make our name so respected among men?" one will say; "I was a fighter pilot"; another will say; "I was in the Submarine Service"; another; "I marched with the Eighth Army"; a fourth will say; "None of you could have lived without the convoys and the Merchant Seamen"; and you in your turn will say, with equal pride and with equal right; "We cut the coal."⁷⁰⁰

⁶⁹⁴Ibid., p.253. ⁶⁹⁵Ibid., p.259. ⁶⁹⁶Ibid., p.253.

⁶⁹⁷Ibid., p.255. ⁶⁹⁸Ibid., p.254. ⁶⁹⁹Ibid., p.257.

⁷⁰⁰Ibid., p.261.

VIII. VICTORY AS A SPUR

INVENTIONLogos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. In this speech Churchill relied on evidence, especially in speaking of military placements and movements. He dedicated much of the address to a discussion of the North African campaign and its progress:

Since we rang the bells for Alamein, the good cause has prospered. The Eighth Army has advanced nearly four hundred miles, driving before them in rout and ruin the powerful forces...which Rommel boasted and Hitler and Mussolini believed would conquer Egypt.⁷⁰¹

It was not only that the U-boats were evaded and brushed aside by the powerfully-escorted British and American convoys; they were definitely beaten in the ten-day's conflict that followed the landings.... For every transport or supply ship we have lost, a U-boat has been sunk or severely damaged; for every ton of Anglo-American shipping lost so far in this expedition, we have gained perhaps two tons in the shipping acquired or recovered in the French harbours of North and West Africa.⁷⁰²

He also used evidence in speaking of the German air forces and their conditions: "Already the German Air Force is a wasting asset; their new construction is not keeping pace with their losses; their front line is weakening both in numbers and, on the whole, in quality."⁷⁰³ Using evidence he spoke of Italy too; "...the centres of war industry in Northern Italy are being subjected to harder treatment than any of our cities experienced in the winter of 1940"⁷⁰⁴ And he discussed the Germans still left in Russia: "The jaws of another Russian winter are closing on Hitler's armies--a hundred and eighty

⁷⁰¹Ibid., p.295. ⁷⁰²Ibid., p.297. ⁷⁰³Ibid., p.298.

⁷⁰⁴Ibid.

German divisions, many of them reduced to little more than brigades by the slaughters and privations they have suffered."705

Authority. The Prime Minister used many references to authority as foundation for his speech. There were even more frequent references to authority than there were to evidence. He began by speaking of History: "...I think we have a right which history will endorse to feel that we had the honour to play a part in saving the Freedom and the future of the world."706 He then turned to the President of the United States:

This majestic enterprise is under the direction and responsibility of the President of the United States, and our First British Army is serving under the orders of the American Commander-in-Chief, General Eisenhower, in whose military skill and burning energy we put our faith, and whose orders to attack we shall punctually and unflinchingly obey.707

He also used Napoleon as an authority: "Thus, in this respect, as Napoleon recommended, war has been made to support war."708

General Alexander was another authority cited:

General Alexander timed his battle at Alamain to suit exactly this great stroke from the West, in order that his victory would encourage friendly countries to preserve their strict neutrality, and also to rally the French Forces in North-West Africa to a full sense of their duty and their opportunity.709

A reference to Stalin was included:

When I was leaving the Kremlin in the middle of August, I said to Premier Stalin: "When we have decisively defeated Rommel in Egypt, I will send you a telegram." And he replied: "When we make our counter offensive here" (and he drew the arrow on the map), "I will send you one." Both messages have duly arrived, and both have been thankfully received.710

Free or unoccupied France had been overrun by the German soldiers

705 Ibid., p.300. 706 Ibid., p.296. 707 Ibid., p.297.

708 Ibid. 709 Ibid., p.298. 710 Ibid., p.300.

as a result of the Allied invasion of North Africa. As to the effects of the invasion Churchill cited de Gaulle; "I agree with General de Gaulle that the last scales of deception have now fallen from the eyes of the French people; indeed, it was time."⁷¹¹ His final reference to authority was to Adolph Hitler:

"A clever conqueror," wrote Hitler in Mein Kampf, "will always, if possible, impose his demands on the conquered by installments. For a people that makes a voluntary surrender saps its own character, and with such people you can calculate that none of those oppressions in detail will supply quite enough reason for it to resort once more to arms."⁷¹²

Sign. The Prime Minister used some argument from sign; however, not to the extent which he employed authority and evidence. There was one argument from sign drawn from the Nazi invasion of the rest of France:

The artificial division between occupied and unoccupied territory has been swept away. In France all Frenchmen are equally under the German yoke.... Abroad all Frenchmen will fire at the common foe.... We may be sure that after what has happened, the ideals and the spirit of what we have called Fighting France will exercise a dominating influence upon the whole French nation.⁷¹³

A second argument from sign was given in relation to the Far East. To Churchill, if the Allies could have ended the European war and then all concentrated upon the Far East it would have been a sign of harmony:

While we were thus engaged in the Far East, we should be sitting with the United States and with our ally Russia and those of the United Nations concerned, shaping the international instruments and national settlements which must be devised if the free life of Europe is ever to rise again....⁷¹⁴

⁷¹¹Ibid., p.301.

⁷¹²Ibid.

⁷¹³Ibid., p.300.

⁷¹⁴Ibid., p.302.

At another point in the address Churchill urged his audience not to use argument from sign, at least argument from false sign; "I know of nothing that has happened yet which justifies the hope that the war will not be long, or that bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead."⁷¹⁵

Assumption. Most of the assumptions which Churchill made in "Victory as a Spur" were in relation to the future of Britain and the war. He made an assumption around England and the future;

...we are becoming ever more entitled to be sure that the awful perils which might well have blotted out our life and all that we love and cherish will be surmounted, and that we shall be preserved for further service in the vanguard of mankind.⁷¹⁶

Speaking of the future of the African-Mediterranean conflict he said; "...we intend, and I will go so far as to say we expect, to expel the enemy before long. But Africa is no halting-place; it is not a seat but a springboard. We shall use Africa only to come to closer grips."⁷¹⁷ He offered another assumption with regard to the fate of Italy;

...if the enemy should in due course be blasted from the Tunisian tip, which is our aim, the whole of the South of Italy—and all the naval bases, all the munition establishments and other military objectives wherever situated—will be brought under prolonged, scientific, and shattering air attack.⁷¹⁸

He employed a final assumption with relation to the Eastern-Western wars;

This much only will I say about the future, and I say it with an acute consciousness of the fallibility of my own judgment. It may well be that the war in Europe will come to an end before the war in Asia. The Atlantic may be calm, while in the

⁷¹⁵Ibid.

⁷¹⁶Ibid., p.295. ⁷¹⁷Ibid., p.298.

⁷¹⁸Ibid., pp.298-99.

Pacific the hurricane rises to its full pitch.⁷¹⁹

Logos-artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. Churchill generalized on the power of the Italian people when it came to overthrowing Mussolini;

It is for the Italian people, forty millions of them, to say whether they want this terrible thing to happen to their country or not. One man, and one man alone, has brought them to this pass.... One man and the regime he has created have brought these measureless calamities upon the hard-working, gifted, and once happy Italian people, with whom, until the days of Mussolini, the English-speaking world had so many sympathies and never a quarrel.⁷²⁰

He posed a second generalization upon the possibility that the war would end in the two theatres at different times:

It seems to me that should the war end thus, in two successive stages, there will be a far higher sense of comradeship around the council table than existed among the victors at Versailles.⁷²¹

Inductive reasoning--argument from causation. In "Victory as a Spur" Churchill relied on many arguments from causation. He discussed several of the events and results of the African war in terms of causal argument;

General Alexander timed his battle at Alamein to suit exactly this great stroke from the West, in order that his victory would encourage friendly countries to preserve their strict neutrality, and also to rally the French Forces in North-West Africa to a full sense of their duty and of their opportunity.⁷²²

Anyone can see the importance to us of re-opening the Mediterranean to military traffic and saving the long voyage round the Cape. Perhaps by this short cut and the economy of shipping resulting from it, we may strike as heavy a blow at the U-boats as has

⁷¹⁹Ibid., p.302. ⁷²⁰Ibid., p.299. ⁷²¹Ibid., p.302.

⁷²²Ibid., p.297.

happened in the whole war; but there is another advantage to be gained by the mastery of the North African shore; we open the air battle upon a new front.⁷²³

He laid stress upon the significance of victory in Africa and its effect on Italy throughout the address; "...our operations in French North Africa should enable us to bring the weight of the war home to the Italian Fascist state, in a manner not hitherto dreamed of by its guilty leaders."⁷²⁴ The African victory had also had causal effects in France; "It was foreseen when we were planning the descent upon North Africa that this would bring about immediate reactions in France!"⁷²⁵ He showed a causal relationship between Mussolini's attack on France and the position in which the Italian people later found themselves:

...Mussolini could not resist the temptation of stabbing prostrate France, and what he thought was helpless Britain, in the back.... To-day his Empire is gone. We have over a hundred Italian generals and nearly three hundred thousand of his soldiers in our hands as prisoners of war. Agony grips the fair land of Italy.⁷²⁶

And Churchill used argument from causation to warn the British people;

Certainly the most painful experiences would lie before us if we allowed ourselves to relax our exertions, to weaken the discipline, unity and order of our array, if we fell to quarrelling about what we should do with our victory before that victory had been won.⁷²⁷

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. There were only two analogies in "Victory as a Spur." The first one dealt with Africa when Churchill said of it; "...not a seat but a springboard."⁷²⁸

⁷²³Ibid., p.298. ⁷²⁴Ibid. ⁷²⁵Ibid., p.300.

⁷²⁶Ibid., p.299. ⁷²⁷Ibid., p.302. ⁷²⁸Ibid., p.298.

His second analogy was one of time;

It seems to me that should the war end thus, in two successive stages, there will be a far higher sense of comradeship around the council table than existed among the victors at Versailles. Then the danger had passed away. The common bond between the Allies had snapped. There was no sense of corporate responsibility such as exists when victorious nations who are masters of one vast scene are, most of them, still waging war side by side in another. I should hope, therefore, that we shall be able to make better solutions—more far-reaching solutions—of the problems of Europe at the end of this war than was possible a quarter of a century ago.⁷²⁹

Deductive reasoning—argument from syllogism and enthymeme.

There was little use made of argument from syllogism or enthymeme and that that was used was usually in the form of the enthymeme;

In order to shorten the struggle, it is our duty to engage the enemy in the air continuously on the largest scale and at the highest intensity. To bring relief to the tortured world, there must be the maximum possible air fighting.⁷³⁰

Ethos

Simplicity. Churchill showed simplicity in building ethos when he warned of the hazards involved in predicting the future of battles; "I make it a rule not to prophesy about battles before they are fought."⁷³¹ He then carried this thought even further; "It is not much use pursuing these speculations farther at this time. For no one can possibly know what the state of Europe or of the world will be, when the Nazi and Fascist tyrannies have been... broken."⁷³²

Sincerity. The Prime Minister used sincerity throughout the entire speech. Perhaps the most striking examples were his

⁷²⁹Ibid., pp.302-03. ⁷³⁰Ibid., p.298. ⁷³¹Ibid., p.296.

⁷³²Ibid., p.303.

references to the past and its dark moments; he made no attempt to conceal the dangers which had confronted the nation;

We have to look back along the path we have trodden these last three years of toil and strife, to value properly all that we have escaped and all that we have achieved. No mood of boastfulness, of vain glory, of over-confidence must cloud our minds; but I think we have a right which history will endorse to feel that we had the honour to play a part in saving the freedom and the future of the world.⁷³³

And with a feeling of sincerity he gave credit to Russia for the part which she was playing in the East: "...these successes in Africa, swift and decisive as they have been, must not divert our attention from the prodigious blows which Russia is striking on the Eastern Front."⁷³⁴ And with a note of sincerity he told the British people that there was still a great conflict ahead;

The ceaseless flow of good news from every theatre of war, which has filled the whole month of November, confronts the British people with a new test. They have proved that they can stand defeat; they have proved that they can bear with fortitude and confidence long periods of unsatisfactory and unexplained inaction. I see no reason at all why we should not show ourselves equally resolute and active in the face of victory. I promise nothing. I predict nothing. I cannot even guarantee that more successes are not on the way.

I know of nothing that has happened yet which justifies the hope that the war will not be long, or that bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead.⁷³⁵

Friendliness. Churchill demonstrated a spirit of friendliness toward the Russians and especially toward Stalin;

When I was leaving the Kremlin in the middle of August, I said to Premier Stalin: "When we have decisively defeated Rommel in Egypt, I will send you a telegram." And he replied: "When we make our counter offensive here...I will send you one." Both

⁷³³Ibid., p.295. ⁷³⁴Ibid., p.299. ⁷³⁵Ibid., p.301

messages have duly arrived, and both have been thankfully received.⁷³⁶

Churchill also demonstrated friendliness toward the other Allies:

If events should take such a course, we should at once bring all our forces to the other side of the world, to the aid of the United States, to the aid of China, and above all to the aid of our kith and kin in Australia and New Zealand, in their valiant struggle against the aggressions of Japan. While we were thus engaged in the Far East, we should be sitting with the United States and with our ally Russia and those of the United Nations concerned, shaping the international instruments and national settlements which must be devised if the free life of Europe is ever to rise again....⁷³⁷

Knowledge of subject. Churchill showed a broad knowledge of the events that were taking place in the African war. He spoke of military groups, their placements and the distances which they had had to travel. Too, he discussed with his audience the production of air craft in Nazi Europe and informed them on affairs which were taking place on the Russian front. The names of places and men were both at his command and he seemed possessed with an understanding of both.

Devotion to cause. The devotion to his cause was illustrated by the seriousness with which the Prime Minister always spoke of it and his lack of delusion in terms of how well it was going. He expressed a desire to present facts as they existed, giving both the good and the bad perspectives. For example, he said:

Then, facing the facts, the ugly facts as well as the encouraging facts, undaunted, then we shall learn to use victory as a spur to further efforts, and make good fortune the means of gaining more.⁷³⁸

The dawn of 1943 will soon loom red before us, and we must brace ourselves to cope with the trials and problems of what must be a

⁷³⁶Ibid., pp.299-300. ⁷³⁷Ibid., p.302. ⁷³⁸Ibid.

stern and terrible year. We do so with the assurance of ever-growing strength, and we do so as a nation with a strong will, a bold heart and a good conscience.⁷³⁹

Pathos

Mildness. Churchill's references to the Italian people, the enemy, showed a definite tendency toward mildness. He condemned their leaders and he hoped that the Italian people rise and throw them off.⁷⁴⁰

Love and friendship. The Prime Minister spoke of the American and British together in Africa and he used love and friendship: "It was rendered possible only by one sovereign fact—namely the perfect comradeship and understanding prevailing between the British and American staffs and troops."⁷⁴¹ Of the British, Americans, and French he said: "American, British and French troops are pressing forward side by side, vying with each other in a general rivalry and brotherhood."⁷⁴²

Enmity and hatred. The enmity and hatred in "Victory as a Spur" stood out in Churchill's references to the enemy: "...the unfortunate Italian people Mussolini has led, exploited and disgraced. The hyena in his nature broke all bounds of decency and even common-sense."⁷⁴³ He called Hitler's ambitions "the maniac's fantasy"⁷⁴⁴ and used enmity in referring to his Mein Kampf: "How carefully, how punctiliously he lives up to his own devilish doctrines!"⁷⁴⁵ And he attacked what he called the "aggressions of Japan."⁷⁴⁶

⁷³⁹Ibid., p.303. ⁷⁴⁰Ibid., p.299. ⁷⁴¹Ibid., p.297.

⁷⁴²Ibid. ⁷⁴³Ibid., p.299. ⁷⁴⁴Ibid., p.300.

⁷⁴⁵Ibid., p.301. ⁷⁴⁶Ibid., p.302.

Confidence. Churchill used confidence in speaking with his people about the future:

We have not reached those frontiers yet, but we are becoming ever more entitled to be sure that the awful perils which might well have blotted out our life and all that we love and cherish will be surmounted, and that we shall be preserved for further service in the vanguard of mankind.⁷⁴⁷

In the immediate aspects of the war and in the war leaders he expressed confidence: "I will say no more than that we may have the greatest confidence in Generals Alexander and Montgomery, and in our soldiers and airmen who have at last begun to come into their own."⁷⁴⁸ Of the situation in Africa he said:

I have been speaking about Africa, about the 2,000 miles of coastline fronting the underside of subjugated Europe. From all this we intend, and I will go so far as to say we expect, to expel the enemy before long.⁷⁴⁹

And he told his audience that he had confidence in the production of air craft; "...the British and United States expansion in 1943 will be, to put it mildly, well worth watching...."⁷⁵⁰

Shame. In a few places "Victory as a Spur" contained elements of shame. Churchill used it primarily against Mussolini and the Italian war leaders; "Mussolini could not resist the temptation of stabbing prostrate France, and what he thought was helpless Britain, in the back...shameful act."⁷⁵¹ And he spoke of the Italian's "undying shame in Greece...."⁷⁵²

Pity Churchill showed pity toward those peoples who had been misguided by the Nazi-Fascist combination and who had had to pay the

⁷⁴⁷Ibid., pp.295-96. ⁷⁴⁸Ibid., p.296. ⁷⁴⁹Ibid., p.298.

⁷⁵⁰Ibid. ⁷⁵¹Ibid., p.299. ⁷⁵²Ibid.

price of that bad guidance: "...the unfortunate Italian people Mussolini has led, exploited and disgraced."⁷⁵³ "Agony grips the fair land of Italy.... One man and the regime he has created have brought these measureless calamities upon the hard-working, gifted, and once happy Italian people...."⁷⁵⁴ He also had pity upon the poor, conglomerate armies which Hitler had dragged into Russia;

...together with a host of miserable Italians, Rumanians, and Hungarians, dragged from their homes by a maniac's fantasy; all these as they reel back from the fire and steel of the avenging Soviet Armies must prepare themselves with weakened forces and with added pangs for a second dose of what they got last year.⁷⁵⁵

Emulation. The Prime Minister listed many individuals and their achievements which might well have been emulated; one of these groups was the Army: "Two Sundays ago all the bells rang to celebrate the victory of our desert Army at Alamein. Here was a martial episode in British history which deserved a special recognition."⁷⁵⁶ And he used emulation when he spoke of the entire British Empire:

That wonderful association of States and races spread all over the globe called the British Empire—or British Commonwealth if you will; I do not quarrel about it—and above all, our small Island, stood in the gap alone in the deadly hour. Here we stood, firm though all was drifting; throughout the British Empire no one faltered. All around was very dark. Here we kept the light burning which now spreads broadly over the vast array of the United Nations....⁷⁵⁷

Stalin himself provided an example for emulation: "The invincible defence of Stalingrad is matched by the commanding military leadership of Stalin."⁷⁵⁸

Contempt. With contempt Churchill referred to Mussolini, Hitler,

⁷⁵³Ibid., p.298. ⁷⁵⁴Ibid., p.299. ⁷⁵⁵Ibid., p.300.

⁷⁵⁶Ibid., p.295. ⁷⁵⁷Ibid., p.296. ⁷⁵⁸Ibid., p.300.

and the Vichy Government. He began with Mussolini:

Mad dreams of imperial glory, the lust of conquest and of booty, the arrogance of long-unbridled tyranny, led him to his fatal, shameful act.... The hyena in his nature broke all bounds of decency and even commonsense.⁷⁵⁹

Speaking of the starving and freezing forces so badly decimated in Russia he said: "They have, of course, the consolation of knowing that they have been commanded and led, not by the German General Staff, but by Corporal Hitler himself."⁷⁶⁰ And he told his audience that the fall of France meant "the extinction for all practical purposes of the sorry farce and fraud of the Vichy Government."⁷⁶¹

ARRANGEMENT

The speech contained a well developed organization which easily broke down into proem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The proem contained a discussion of the victory in North Africa and a statement of praise to the British people for having stood alone so valiantly during the early months of the war. The statement was built around the progress of the war in Africa and the success of the Algerian landing. It also included mention of the activities of the Russian Army on the Eastern Front. The argument contained the case against drawing hasty conclusions with regard to the outcome of the war and it showed that Hitler had reserves still unused and a strong, tested regular army. The epilogue was built around the need for unifying the efforts which the Allies were making for both war and peace. The epilogue closed with a request for increased dedication.

⁷⁵⁹Ibid., p.299. ⁷⁶⁰Ibid., p.300. ⁷⁶¹Ibid.

STYLE

Level. The level of the style was elevated or sublime. There was very extensive use of figurative language and allusion to history and literature and much of the address was idealistic and inspirational. The word choice was aimed at elevating thoughts and objectives and bringing forth greater dedication.

Diction and word choice. The words were all Anglo-Saxon in origin and for the most part were poly-syllabic; however, he used many mono-syllabic words as well. The speech was fairly concrete and contained a large amount of background evidence. Still, the word choice was often abstract and inclined toward imagery.

Sentence structure. Churchill used many long and fairly involved sentences whose structures were usually complex or compound-complex. There were many simple sentences in the address but the emphasis was not on this type. The following was a sample paragraph;

We have to look back along the path we have trodden these last three years of toil and strife, to value properly all that we have escaped and all that we have achieved. No mood of boastfulness, of vain glory, of over-confidence must cloud our minds; but I think we have a right which history will endorse to feel that we had the honour to play a part in saving the freedom and the future of the world. That wonderful association of States and races spread all over the globe called the British Empire—or British Commonwealth if you will; I do not quarrel about it—and above all, our small Island, stood in the gap alone in the deadly hour. Here we stood, firm though all was drifting; throughout the British Empire no one faltered. All around was very dark. Here we kept the light burning which now spreads broadly over the vast array of the United Nations; that is why it was right to ring out the bells, and to lift our heads for a moment in gratitude and in relief, before we turn

again to the grim and probably long ordeals which lie before us and to the exacting tasks upon which we are engaged.⁷⁶²

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Imagery. Churchill made very extensive use of imagery. He spoke of the "frontiers of deliverance"⁷⁶³ whose attainment would have meant that Britain would "be preserved for further service in the vanguard of mankind."⁷⁶⁴ Using imagery he described the first years of the war: "We have to look back along the path we have trodden these last three years of toil and strife.....our small Island, stood in the gap alone in the deadly hour.....though all was drifting...."⁷⁶⁵ Speaking of the U-boats and the invasion of North Africa he said: "...our destroyers and corvettes and our aircraft took up the challenge and wore them down and beat them off."⁷⁶⁶ Churchill also used imagery in referring to the Italians in general and Mussolini in particular:

...Mussolini could not resist the temptation of stabbing prostrate France, and what he thought was helpless Britain, in the back. Mad dreams of imperial glory, the lust of conquest and of booty, the arrogance of long-unbridled tyranny, led him to his fatal, shameful act.... Agony grips the fair land of Italy.⁷⁶⁷

He described the enemy forces in Russia as "dragged from their homes by a maniac's fantasy" and as reeling "back from the fire and steel of the avenging Soviet Armies...."⁷⁶⁸ Churchill also used imagery in discussing the German conquest of the rest of France: "In France all Frenchmen are equally under the German yoke, and will learn

⁷⁶²Ibid., p.296.

⁷⁶³Ibid., p.295. ⁷⁶⁴Ibid., p. 296.

⁷⁶⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶⁶Ibid., p.297.

⁷⁶⁷Ibid., p.299.

⁷⁶⁸Ibid., p.300.

to hate it with equal intensity. Abroad all Frenchmen will fire at the common foe."⁷⁶⁹ Then he commented on the French fleet: "That fleet, brought by folly and by worse than folly to its melancholy end, redeemed its honour by an act of self-immolation, and from the flame and smoke of the explosions at Toulon, France will rise again."⁷⁷⁰ One of the Prime Minister's final uses of imagery came in his consideration of the war in the Pacific: "The Atlantic may be calm, while in the Pacific the hurricane rises to its full pitch."⁷⁷¹ He then used visual imagery to close his address: "The dawn of 1943 will soon loom red before us...."⁷⁷² Churchill made use of auditory imagery when he talked of the ringing of the bells for the victory at Alamein: "...their clashing joyous peals...."⁷⁷³ Then he used kinesthetic imagery in speaking of the bringing of "relief to the tortured world...."⁷⁷⁴

Metaphor. Churchill used several metaphors. He spoke of the trials of 1940 as: "...the awful perils which might well have blotted out our life...."⁷⁷⁵ He also used metaphor when he discussed the part that Britain had played during the hardest moments of the struggle: "Here we kept the light burning which now spreads broadly over the vast array of the United Nations...."⁷⁷⁶ Churchill said of the U-boats: "...the U-boats were evaded and brushed aside...."⁷⁷⁷ He used metaphor when he spoke of the victory in South Africa: "But Africa is no halting-place; it is not a seat but a springboard."⁷⁷⁸

⁷⁶⁹Ibid. ⁷⁷⁰Ibid., p.301. ⁷⁷¹Ibid., p.302. ⁷⁷²Ibid.

⁷⁷³Ibid., p.295. ⁷⁷⁴Ibid., p.298. ⁷⁷⁵Ibid., p.295.

⁷⁷⁶Ibid., p.296. ⁷⁷⁷Ibid., p.297. ⁷⁷⁸Ibid., p.298.

He spoke of Mussolini with metaphor: "The hyena in his nature broke all bounds of decency and even commonsense."⁷⁷⁹ He used it to describe the condition of the German's in Russia; "The jaws of another Russian winter are closing on Hitler's armies...."⁷⁸⁰ He spoke of the future with a metaphor too: "...let us...put our trust in those deep, slow-moving tides that have borne us thus far already, and will surely bear us forward, if we know how to use them, until we reach the harbour...."⁷⁸¹

Personification. There were a few instances of personification in the address; for example, Churchill used personification of history: "...I think we have a right which history will endorse...."⁷⁸²

Interrogation and discourse. At one point in the address the Prime Minister employed direct discourse;

When I was leaving the Kremlin in the middle of August, I said to Premier Stalin: "When we have decisively defeated Rommel in Egypt, I will send you a telegram." And he replied: "When we make our counter offensive here...I will send you one."⁷⁸³

Irony and satire. Churchill made use of irony when he commented on the fate of the Italian people and the war;

There was no need for them to go to war; no one was going to attack them. We tried our best to induce them to remain neutral, to enjoy peace and prosperity and exceptional profits in a world of storm. ...what have the Italians to show for it? A brief promenade by German permission along the Riviera; a flying visit to Corsica; a bloody struggle with the heroic patriots of Yugoslavia; a deed of undying shame in Greece; the ruins of Genoa, Turin, Milan; and this is only a foretaste.⁷⁸⁴

⁷⁷⁹Ibid., p.299. ⁷⁸⁰Ibid., p.300. ⁷⁸¹Ibid., p.301.

⁷⁸²Ibid., p.296. ⁷⁸³Ibid., pp.299-300. ⁷⁸⁴Ibid., p.299.

Churchill then used satire in speaking of Hitler and his forces on the Russian front;

...a hundred and eighty German divisions, many of them reduced to little more than brigades by the slaughters and privations they have suffered, together with a host of miserable Italians, Rumanians, and Hungarians...all these reel back from the fire and steel of the avenging Soviet Armies...with weakened forces and with added pangs for a second dose of what they got last year. They have, of course, the consolation of knowing that they have been commanded and led, not by the German General Staff, but by Corporal Hitler himself.⁷⁸⁵

Anaphora and epistrophe. Churchill took advantage of both anaphora and epistrophe in order to build word and phrase emphasis; "No mood of boastfulness, of vain glory, of over-confidence...."⁷⁸⁶ He used anaphora again in referring to the British people: "They have proved that they can stand defeat; they have proved that they can bear with fortitude and confidence...."⁷⁸⁷ Of himself he said; "I promise nothing. I predict nothing. I cannot even guarantee.... I commend to all...."⁷⁸⁸ Later in the address he used anaphora to strengthen a warning;

Remember that Hitler with his armies and his secret police holds nearly all Europe in his grip. Remember that he has millions of slaves to toil for him, a vast mass of munitions, many mighty arsenals, many fertile fields. Remember that Goring has brazenly declared that whoever starves in Europe, it will not be the Germans. Remember that these villains know their lives are at stake. Remember how small a portion of the German Army we British have yet been able to engage and to destroy. Remember that the U-boat warfare is not diminishing but growing, and that it may well be worse before it is better.⁷⁸⁹

Churchill used some epistrophe: "Then, facing the facts, the ugly facts...."⁷⁹⁰ He used it again in speaking of the goals of the

⁷⁸⁵Ibid., p.300. ⁷⁸⁶Ibid., p.296. ⁷⁸⁷Ibid., p.301.

⁷⁸⁸Ibid. ⁷⁸⁹Ibid., p.302. ⁷⁹⁰Ibid.

future; "...to make better solutions--more far-reaching solutions...."791

Hyperbole. "Victory as a Spur" involved some hyperbole. Churchill used it when he spoke of the victory bells; "...all the bells rang...."792 Then he applied it to the British Empire; "...throughout the British Empire no one faltered."793 And he exaggerated the relations between the British and American soldiers; "...perfect comradeship and understanding prevailing between the British and American staffs and troops."794 His final application was to the stream of news coming in from the war fronts; "The ceaseless flow of good news from every theatre of war, which has filled the whole month of November...."795

Metonymy and synecdoche. Churchill said of Mussolini; "On deaf ears and a stony heart fell the wise, far-seeing appeals of the American President."796 He used synecdoche again in speaking of Hitler; "...Hitler would break the Armistice, overrun all France, and try to capture the French fleet at Toulon...."797 And his final application of synecdoche was to Hitler and the Germans; "Remember that he has millions of slaves to toil for him...."798

Acclamation. Churchill made frequent use of acclamation. He told his audience of the "heroic patriots of Yugoslavia...."799 He applied acclamation to Stalin; "The invincible defence of

791 Ibid., p.303. 792 Ibid., p.295. 793 Ibid., p.296.

794 Ibid., p.297. 795 Ibid., p.301. 796 Ibid., p.299.

797 Ibid., p.300. 798 Ibid., p.302. 799 Ibid., p.299.

Stalingrad is matched by the commanding military leadership of Stalin."⁸⁰⁰ He had acclamation for the rest of the British Empire too; "...our kith and kin in Australia and New Zealand, in their valiant struggle...."⁸⁰¹ And Churchill employed acclamation in discussing the joint British-American operations in Africa: "American, British and French troops are pressing forward side by side, vying with each other in a general rivalry and brotherhood. In this there lies the hope and the portent of the future."⁸⁰²

Literary quotation. Churchill cited several literary and historical references. He alluded once to Napoleon: "Thus, in this respect, as Napoleon recommended, war has been made to support war."⁸⁰³ Then he quoted Hitler's Main Kampf:

A clever conquerer...will always, if possible, impose his demands on the conquered by instalments. For a people that makes a voluntary surrender saps its own character, and with such people you can calculate that none of those oppressions in detail will supply quite enough reason for it to resort once more to arms.⁸⁰⁴

His final reference was to a quotation of Kipling's:

If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two imposters just the same—⁸⁰⁵

Alliteration. At several points in the address Churchill used alliteration for sound effect and emphasis; "...freedom and the future...,"⁸⁰⁶ "...in rout and ruin...,"⁸⁰⁷ "...shorten the struggle...,"⁸⁰⁸ "...weight of the war...,"⁸⁰⁹ "...Tunisian

⁸⁰⁰Ibid. ⁸⁰¹Ibid., p.302. ⁸⁰²Ibid., p.298. ⁸⁰³Ibid., p.297.

⁸⁰⁴Ibid., p.301. ⁸⁰⁵Ibid. ⁸⁰⁶Ibid., p.296.

⁸⁰⁷Ibid. ⁸⁰⁸Ibid., p.298. ⁸⁰⁹Ibid.

tip...;"⁸¹⁰ "...world wonders...;"⁸¹¹ "...farce and fraud...;"⁸¹²
 "...devilish doctrines...;"⁸¹³ "...bitter and bloody...;"⁸¹⁴
 "...against the aggressions...;"⁸¹⁵ "...victors at Versailles."⁸¹⁶

Climax. Churchill used climax to build his conclusion:

The dawn of 1943 will soon loom red before us, and we must brace ourselves to cope with the trials and problems of what must be a stern and terrible year. We do so with the assurance of ever-growing strength, and we do so as a nation with a strong will, a bold heart and a good conscience.⁸¹⁷

IX. CALL FOR A THREE-POWER TALK

INVENTION

Logos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. The Prime Minister made use of limited amounts of evidence. There were references to the Russian victories and the Canadian war effort but little evidence beyond these two areas. Of the Canadian war effort he said;

The munition industries of Canada have played a most important part in our war economy. Last, but not least, Canada has relieved Great Britain of what would otherwise have been a debt for these munitions of no less than \$2,000,000,000.⁸¹⁸

He then discussed the victories that Marshal Stalin had engineered during the summer campaign in Russia; "The entire British Empire sends him our salutes on...the victories of Orel, Karkov, and Taganrog...."⁸¹⁹ There was one reference to the African war and the conflict in Sicily:

Africa is cleared. All German and Italian armies in Africa

⁸¹⁰Ibid.

⁸¹¹Ibid., p.299. ⁸¹²Ibid., p.300.

⁸¹³Ibid., p.301. ⁸¹⁴Ibid. ⁸¹⁵Ibid., p.302. ⁸¹⁶Ibid.

⁸¹⁷Ibid., p.303.

⁸¹⁸Churchill, Onwards to Victory, p.225. ⁸¹⁹Ibid., p.226.

have been annihilated, and at least half a million prisoners are in our hands. In a brilliant campaign of 38 days Sicily, which was defended by over 40,000 Axis troops, has been conquered.

Mussolini has been overthrown.... A large number of German troops have lately been drawn away from France in order to hold down the Italian people....⁸²⁰

And he announced the selection of a Commander to head the Anglo-American Far Eastern campaign; "A supreme Commander of the South-East Asia front has been chosen.... He will act in constant association with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek."⁸²¹

Authority. Churchill used authority rather heavily as foundation for his address. He began with a reference to President Roosevelt; "...President Roosevelt suggested that Quebec should be the scene, and...the Governor-General and the Government of Canada offered us their princely hospitalities."⁸²² As he discussed Quebec and the conference he relied upon historical institutions for authority:

Here at the gateway of Canada...the spirit of freedom has found a safe and abiding home.... It is enshrined in Parliamentary institutions based on universal suffrage and evolved through centuries by the English-speaking peoples. It is inspired by the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence.⁸²³

In the next few paragraphs Churchill alluded to the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904, Mr. Mackenzie King, and Roosevelt; "...since the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 I have always served and worked actively with the French in the defense of good causes."⁸²⁴ Then he turned to Mackenzie King: "I have also had the advantage of conferring with the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie

⁸²⁰Ibid., p.228. ⁸²¹Ibid., p.230. ⁸²²Ibid., p.223.

⁸²³Ibid., p.224. ⁸²⁴Ibid.

King....⁸²⁵ Next he alluded to Roosevelt; "...nothing is nearer to the wishes of President Roosevelt and myself than to have a threefold meeting with Marshal Stalin."⁸²⁶ Churchill also called upon the judgments of history and the United Nations;

I submit to the judgment of the United Nations, and of history, that British and American strategy, as directed by our combined Chiefs of Staff, and as approved and to some extent inspired by the President and myself, has been the best that was open to us in a practical sense.⁸²⁷

His final two authorities were Gladstone and the Divine;

This is also the time to remember the glorious resistance to the invaders of their native lands of the peoples of Yugoslavia and of Greece, and of those whom Mr. Gladstone once called "the heroic Highlanders of Montenegro."⁸²⁸

Then he relied upon the Divine; "If Almighty God in his mercy should lighten or shorten our labours and the torment of mankind, all his servants will be thankful."⁸²⁹

Sign. "Call for a Three-Power Talk" had several arguments from sign. To the people of the world Churchill brought a message about the second front and he used argument from sign;

...whenever the great blow is struck, you may be sure that it will be because we are satisfied that there is a good chance of continuing success, and that our soldiers' lives will be expended in accordance with sound military plans and not squandered for political considerations of any kind.⁸³⁰

He pointed to the Bulgarian King and told his audience that from this sign other evil doers could draw conclusions; "The fate of Boris may serve other miscreants with the reminder that the wages of sin is death."⁸³¹ The same line of reasoning was applied to

⁸²⁵Ibid.

⁸²⁶Ibid., p.226.

⁸²⁷Ibid., p.228.

⁸²⁸Ibid., p.229.

⁸²⁹Ibid., p.231.

⁸³⁰Ibid., p.227.

⁸³¹Ibid., p.229.

Mussolini:

See how those who stray from the true path are deceived and punished. Look at this wretched Mussolini and his son-in-law and accomplice Ciano, on whom the curse of Garibaldi has veritably fallen.⁸³²

He employed argument from sign in a justification of Mountbatten as the new Commander of the Allies in the Far East: "...if an officer having devoted his life to the military art does not know war at 43, he is not likely to learn much more about it later on."⁸³³

Assumption. Churchill used some assumption, though not to the extent that he did in some of the other speeches analyzed. He offered an assumption on the future of France;

We may be sure that all will come right. We may be sure that France will rise again free, united, and independent, to stand on guard with others over the generous tolerances and brightening opportunities of the human society we mean to rescue and rebuild.⁸³⁴

He also used an assumption in discussing the significance of the North African campaign: "I believe that the great flanking movement into North Africa...will be regarded in the after time as quite a good thing to do in all the circumstances."⁸³⁵ And Churchill posed another assumption in his consideration of the restoration of the monarchs:

I take this opportunity to send a message of encouragement to these peoples and their Governments, and to the Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia, who have never faltered for one moment in their duty, and whom we hope to see restored to their thrones by the free choice of their liberated peoples.⁸³⁶

Logos--artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. Churchill

⁸³²Ibid., p.231. ⁸³³Ibid., p.229. ⁸³⁴Ibid., p.224.

⁸³⁵Ibid., p.228. ⁸³⁶Ibid., p.229.

generalized several times during the course of his address. He began with a generalization on the location of the Quebec conference:

Certainly no more fitting and splendid setting could have been chosen for a meeting of those who guide the war policy of the two great Western democracies at this cardinal moment in the Second World War than we have here in the Plains of Abraham, the Chateau Frontenac, and the ramparts of the Citadel of Quebec....⁸³⁷

Then he discussed Canada's value to the Mother Country:

The contribution which Canada has made to the combined efforts of the British Commonwealth and Empire in these tremendous times has deeply touched the heart of the Mother Country and of all the other members of our widespread family of States and races.⁸³⁸

Churchill told his audience that Russian-Allied relations were to be closer;

...there is no step which we may take, or which may be forced upon us by the unforeseeable course of this war, about which we should not wish to consult with our Russian friends and allies in the fullest confidence and candour.⁸³⁹

And he generalized about the part that the Russians, the English, and the Americans had played in the maintenance of the Eastern Front;

No Government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injuries so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler upon Russia. But under the leadership of Marshal Stalin, and thanks also to the stand made by the British peoples when they were all alone, and to abundant British and American ammunition and supplies of all kinds, Russia has not only survived and recovered from these frightful injuries, but has inflicted, as no other force in the world could have inflicted, mortal damage on the German army machine.⁸⁴⁰

The Prime Minister posed a generalization on the future conduct of the war;

...the United Nations feel conscious, both as States and as

⁸³⁷Ibid., p.223. ⁸³⁸Ibid., p.225. ⁸³⁹Ibid., p.226.

⁸⁴⁰Ibid., p.229.

hundreds of millions of individuals, of being called to a high duty, which they will unflinchingly and tirelessly discharge with whatever strength is granted to them, however long the ordeal may last.⁸⁴¹

Inductive reasoning--argument from causation. Churchill used argument from causation extensively in "Call for a Three-Power Talk." One of his first uses of it was in an examination of the war and Canada: "Canada has become in the course of this war an important sea faring nation, building many scores of warships and merchant ships, some of them thousands of miles from salt water...."⁸⁴² The war had been the causal factor in Canada's becoming a sea power. There were causal reasons too why the President and Prime Minister had not as yet met with the Marshal:

It is because Marshal Stalin, in direct command of the victorious Russian Armies, cannot at the present time leave the battle-fronts upon which he is conducting operations of vital consequence... to the common cause of all the United Nations.⁸⁴³

The Germans were moving from France to Italy and Churchill told his audience why:

A large number of German troops have lately been drawn away from France in order to hold down the Italian people, in order to make Italy a battleground, and to keep the war as distant and as long as possible from German soil.⁸⁴⁴

He used argument from causation to show the war situation to his audience: "An immense diminution of Hitler's war-making capacity has been achieved by the air bombardment...."⁸⁴⁵ Then he gave the causal reasons for the African victory: "I readily admit that much of all this would have been impossible in this form or at this time, but

⁸⁴¹Ibid., p.231. ⁸⁴²Ibid., p.225. ⁸⁴³Ibid., p.226.

⁸⁴⁴Ibid., p.228. ⁸⁴⁵Ibid.

for the valiant and magnificent exertions and triumphs of the Russian Army...."⁸⁴⁶ The Russian efforts were also influencing the Balkan war: "Most important and significant events are taking place in the Balkans as a result of the Russian victories, and also, I believe, of the Anglo-American campaign against Italy."⁸⁴⁷ Then using argument from causation he told his audience why the Allies had entered the war in the first place:

We did not undertake this task because we had carefully counted the cost, or because we had carefully measured the duration. We took it on because duty and honour called us to it, and we are content to drive on until we have finished the job.⁸⁴⁸

Inductive reasoning--argument from analogy. Churchill made some analogous comparisons in "Call for a Three-Power Talk" and he then based arguments on these analogous foundations. The first such comparison was of the French front during the days of 1939 and 1940 and a re-established French front at some point in the future:

We have heard a lot of talk in the last two years about establishing what is called a Second Front in Northern France against Germany.

.
We once had a fine front in France, but it was torn to pieces by the concentrated might of Hitler; and it is easier to have a front pulled down than it is to build it up again.⁸⁴⁹

His second analogy was a comparison of the Western Allies to a prize fighter: "I have always thought that the Western democracies should be like a boxer who fights with two hands and not one."⁸⁵⁰ Churchill then spoke of Mountbatten's qualifications for his job

⁸⁴⁶Ibid., p.229.

⁸⁴⁷Ibid.

⁸⁴⁸Ibid., p.231.

⁸⁴⁹Ibid., p.227.

⁸⁵⁰Ibid., p.228.

in terms of analogy: "He is what...I will venture to call 'a complete triphibian,' that is to say, a creature equally at home in three elements--earth, air, and water--and also well accustomed to fire."⁸⁵¹

Deductive reasoning--argument from syllogism and enthymeme.

There was limited use of the enthymeme in the address and no use of the syllogism. When Churchill discussed Mountbatten at one point he used an enthymeme:

It is true that Lord Louis Mountbatten is only 43.... But if an officer having devoted his life to the military art does not know war at 43, he is not likely to learn much more about it later on.⁸⁵²

In another instance Churchill used enthymeme in giving the reasons for Russia's exclusion from the Quebec conference:

It would not have been suitable for Russia to be represented at this Anglo-American conference, which, apart from dealing with the immediate operations of our intermingled and interwoven armed forces in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, was largely, if not mainly, concerned with heating and inflaming the war against Japan, with whom the Soviet Government have a five years' treaty of non-aggression.⁸⁵³

Ethos

Simplicity. Churchill demonstrated simplicity when he spoke of the confidence he placed in Russia;

In fact, there is no step which we may take, or which may be forced upon us by the unforseeable course of this war, about which we should not wish to consult with our Russian friends and allies in the fullest confidence and candour.⁸⁵⁴

One of his comments on the future of the war also showed simplicity:

For myself, I regard all such speculation as to when the war

⁸⁵¹Ibid., p.230. ⁸⁵²Ibid.

⁸⁵³Ibid., p.226.

⁸⁵⁴Ibid., p.227.

will end at this moment vain and unprofitable. We did not undertake this task because we had carefully counted the cost, or because we had carefully measured the duration.⁸⁵⁵

And Churchill used simplicity when he discussed the devotion to duty of the peoples of the Allied nations: "It is not given to the cleverest and most calculating of mortals to know with certainty what is their interest. Yet it is given to quite a lot of simple folk to know every day what is their duty."⁸⁵⁶

Sincerity. He used sincerity in his comments on the Canadian Army and the British Isles:

From the darkest days the Canadian army, growing stronger year by year, has played an indispensable part in guarding our British homeland from invasion. Now it is fighting with distinction in wider and ever-widening fields.⁸⁵⁷

In this same tone he said of England's treaty with France: "I mentioned just now the agreement Britain made with France almost forty years ago, and how we have stood by it, and will stand by it, with unswerving faithfulness."⁸⁵⁸ There was sincerity present when Churchill spoke of the "Three-Power Talk": "...nothing is nearer to the wishes of President Roosevelt and myself than to have a threefold meeting with Marshal Stalin."⁸⁵⁹ Perhaps the best illustration of his sincerity came in his approach to over optimism: "For myself, I regard all such speculation as to when the war will end as at this moment vain and unprofitable."⁸⁶⁰

Friendliness. Churchill expressed friendliness toward the

⁸⁵⁵Ibid., p.231. ⁸⁵⁶Ibid., p.232. ⁸⁵⁷Ibid., p.225.

⁸⁵⁸Ibid. ⁸⁵⁹Ibid., p.226. ⁸⁶⁰Ibid., p.231.

Allies, especially the French:

For forty years or more I have believed in the greatness and virtue of France, often in dark and baffling days I have not wavered, and since the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 I have always served and worked actively with the French in the defense of good causes.⁸⁶¹

And he said of the Russians:

The entire British Empire sends him our salutes on his brilliant summer campaign, and on the victories of Orel, Kharkov, and Taganrog, by which so much Russian soil has been redeemed and so many hundreds of thousands of its invaders wiped out.⁸⁶²

They fight so well, and they have inflicted such enormous injury upon the military strength of Germany, that nothing they could say in honest criticism of our strategy, or the part we have so far been able to take in the war, would be taken amiss by us, or weaken our admiration for their own martial prowess and achievement.⁸⁶³

Then Churchill turned to the peoples of Southern Europe who were still struggling with the foe:

This is also the time to remember the glorious resistance to the invaders of their native lands of the peoples of Yugoslavia and of Greece, and of those whom Mr. Gladstone once called "the Heroic Highlanders of Montenegro."⁸⁶⁴

The Prime Minister introduced a spirit of universal fellowship with all who opposed the enemy:

Let us then all go forward together, making the best of ourselves and the best of each other; resolved to apply the maximum forces at our command without regard to any other single thought than the attack and destruction of those monstrous evil dominations which have so nearly cost each and all of us our national lives and mankind its future.⁸⁶⁵

Sympathy. The Prime Minister showed sympathy toward several national groups. He was sympathetic with the conquered French, the

⁸⁶¹Ibid., p.224. ⁸⁶²Ibid., p.226. ⁸⁶³Ibid., p.227.

⁸⁶⁴Ibid., p.229. ⁸⁶⁵Ibid., p.230.

valiant Russians, and the Bulgarian people;

Here above all, in the capital and heart of French Canada, was it right to think of the French people in their agony, to set on foot new measures for their deliverance, and to send them a message across the ocean that we have not forgotten them, nor all the services that France has rendered to culture and civilisation, to the march of the human intellect and to the rights of man....

It was therefore to me a deep satisfaction that words of hope, comfort and recognition should be spoken, not only to these Frenchmen who, outside Hitler's clutches await the day when they can free and cleanse their land from the torment and shame of German subjugation.⁸⁶⁶

...the valiant and magnificent exertions and triumphs of the Russian Army, who have defended their native soil against a vile and unprovoked attack with incomparable vigour, skill, and devotion, and at a terrible price in Russian blood.⁸⁶⁷

Thrice in the last thirty years the Bulgarian people, who owed their liberation and existence to Russia, have been betrayed against their interest, and to a large extent against their wishes, and driven by evil rulers into disaster.⁸⁶⁸

Knowledge of subject. The subject for Churchill's address was built upon three problems; the need for a "Three-Power Talk," the Canadian war effort, and the establishment of an Anglo-American Far Eastern Command. In each one of these three areas he was familiar with the events going on over the world. He knew of the advances that the Russian Army had made and of its victories; he had statistics and other pertinent data on the contributions Canada had made to the Allies; and he had just set up the Far Eastern Command in co-operation with President Roosevelt. Churchill also demonstrated a historical familiarity with Quebec and Canada in general.

⁸⁶⁶Ibid., p.224. ⁸⁶⁷Ibid., p.229. ⁸⁶⁸Ibid.

Devotion to cause. One of Churchill's causes was that of closer Russian-Allied relations and to this end he showed both sincerity and devotion:

...nothing is nearer to the wishes of President Roosevelt and myself than to have a threefold meeting with Marshal Stalin. If that has not yet taken place, it is certainly not because we have not tried our best, or have not been willing to lay aside every impediment and undertake further immense journeys for that purpose.

.....
The President and I will persevere in our efforts to meet Marshal Stalin, and in the meantime it seems most necessary and urgent that a conference of the British, United States, and Russian Foreign Ministers...should be held at some convenient place, in order not merely to explore the various important questions connected with the future arrangements for world security, but to carry their discussion to a point where the heads of States and Governments may be able to intervene.⁸⁶⁹

He later continued in this same tone; "...there is no step which we may take...about which we should not wish to consult with our Russian friends and allies in the fullest confidence and candour."⁸⁷⁰
Coupled with the need for better relations was the need for carrying on the immediate war;

...it is given to quite a lot of simple folk to know every day what is their duty. That is the path along which the British Commonwealth and Empire, the great Republic of the United States, the vast Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the indomitable and innumerable people of China—all the United Nations—that is the path along which we shall march till our work is done....⁸⁷¹

Pathos

Mildness. Churchill used mildness in discussing Russian criticism of British policies. He had no objection to these criticisms for he said that perhaps there was some foundation for them; "It is quite natural that the Russians...should urge us

⁸⁶⁹ibid., p.226. ⁸⁷⁰ibid., p.227. ⁸⁷¹ibid., p.232.

ceaselessly to undertake this task, and should in no way conceal their complaints and even reproaches that we have not done it before."⁸⁷²

Love and friendship. Throughout the entire address Churchill maintained a sense of love and friendship for the Canadians, the Russians, the French, the Southern Europeans, and the other Allies;

Here at the gateway of Canada, in the mighty lands which have never known the totalitarian tyrannies of Hitler and Mussolini, the spirit of freedom has found a safe and abiding home.⁸⁷³

The contribution which Canada has made to the combined effort of the British Commonwealth and Empire in these tremendous times has deeply touched the heart of the Mother Country and of all the other members of our widespread family of States and races.⁸⁷⁴

About the Russians he said: "We shall also be very glad to associate Russian representatives with us in the political decisions which arise out of the victories the Anglo-American Forces have gained in the Mediterranean."⁸⁷⁵ His next use of friendship was in relation to the peoples of Southern Europe: "I take this opportunity to send a message of encouragement to those peoples and their Governments, and to the Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia, who have never faltered for one moment in their duty...."⁸⁷⁶

Enmity and hatred. Churchill's use of enmity and hatred was best illustrated by his references to the enemy: "...the totalitarian tyrannies of Hitler and Mussolini...;"⁸⁷⁷ "...Hitler's clutches...;"⁸⁷⁸ "...Hitlerite tyranny...;"⁸⁷⁹ "...injuries so

⁸⁷²Ibid., p.227. ⁸⁷³Ibid., p.223. ⁸⁷⁴Ibid., p.225.

⁸⁷⁵Ibid., p.226. ⁸⁷⁶Ibid., p.229. ⁸⁷⁷Ibid., p.224.

⁸⁷⁸Ibid. ⁸⁷⁹Ibid., p.227.

grave and cruel...;"⁸⁸⁰ "...these monstrous and evil dominations which have so nearly cost each and all of us our national lives and mankind its future.;"⁸⁸¹ "Nazi tyranny and Prussian militarism, those two loathsome dominations...;"⁸⁸² "...we see the Germans hated as no race has ever been hated in human history, or with such good reason."⁸⁸³

Confidence. Churchill had confidence in France and in the ability of the French to rebuild;

For forty years or more I have believed in the greatness and virtue of France, often in dark and baffling days I have not wavered....

.....
We may be sure that France will rise again free, united, independent, to stand on guard with others over the generous tolerances and brightening opportunities of the human society we mean to rescue and rebuild.⁸⁸⁴

He had confidence in the future, confidence that it would justify the African flanking movement and confidence that it would bring peace;

I believe that the great flanking movement into North Africa, made under the authority of President Roosevelt and of His Majesty's Government, for whom I am a principal agent, will be regarded in the after time as quite a good thing to do in all the circumstances.⁸⁸⁵

...that is the path along which we shall march till our work is done and we may rest from our labours, and the whole world may turn with hope, with science, with good sense, and dear-bought experience, from war to lasting peace.⁸⁸⁶

Shame. The address contained two examples of shame. In one of these examples Churchill discussed the French people; "...the

⁸⁸⁰Ibid., p.229. ⁸⁸¹Ibid., p.230. ⁸⁸²Ibid., p.231.

⁸⁸³Ibid. ⁸⁸⁴Ibid., p.224. ⁸⁸⁵Ibid., p.228.

⁸⁸⁶Ibid., p.232.

broad masses of the French nation who await the day when they can free and cleanse their land from the torment and shame of German subjugation."⁸⁸⁷ In the other instance he referred to the stabbing of France in the back by the Italians;

I have heard that Ciano, explaining one day why Mussolini had plunged his dagger into the back of falling France and dreamed himself already among the Caesars, said that such a chance would not occur again in 5,000 years.⁸⁸⁸

Pity. Churchill showed pity for two groups of people, the Italians and the Germans:

Mussolini has been overthrown. The war impulse of Italy has been destroyed, and that unhappy country is paying a terrible penalty for allowing itself to be misled by false and criminal guides. How much easier it is to join bad companions than to shake them off! A large number of German troops have lately been drawn away from France in order to hold down the Italian people, in order to make Italy a battleground, and to keep the war as distant and as long as possible from German soil.⁸⁸⁹

We cannot measure, though we know it is enormous, the havoc wrought in Germany by our bombing; nor the effects upon a population who have lived so long by making wars in the lands of others, and now, for the first time for more than a century, are having blasting and desolating war brought to their hearths and homes.⁸⁹⁰

Emulation. The war produced many examples worthy of emulation and Churchill mentioned several of them in this address. There were the French: "...we have not forgotten them, nor all the services that France has rendered to culture and civilisation, to the march of the human intellect and to the rights of man."⁸⁹¹ Then there were the Canadians:

Canada has become in the course of this war an important sea faring nation, building many scores of warships and merchant

⁸⁸⁷Ibid., p.224. ⁸⁸⁸Ibid., p.232. ⁸⁸⁹Ibid., p.228.

⁸⁹⁰Ibid., p.231. ⁸⁹¹Ibid., p.224.

ships, some of them thousands of miles from salt water, and sending them forth manned by hardy Canadian seamen to guard the Atlantic convoys and our vital life-line across the ocean.

.....
 All this, of course, was dictated by no law, It came from no treaty or formal obligation. It sprang in perfect freedom from sentiment and tradition and a generous resolve to serve the future of mankind.⁸⁹²

There were the Russians;

...the valiant and magnificent exertions and triumphs of the Russian Army, who have defended their native soil against a vile and unprovoked attack with incomparable vigour, skill, and devotion, and at a terrible price in Russian blood.⁸⁹³

No Government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injuries so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler upon Russia. But under the leadership of Marshal Stalin, and thanks also to the stand made by the British peoples when they were all alone, and to abundant British and American ammunition and supplies of all kinds, Russia has not only survived and recovered from these frightful injuries, but has inflicted, as no other force in the world could have inflicted, mortal damage on the German army machine.⁸⁹⁴

ARRANGEMENT

"Call for a Three-Power Talk" was divided into proem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The proem was the historical background of Quebec, a message of good cheer to the enslaved French people, and a praise of the job that the Canadians were doing in the war. The statement contained the call for a Three-Power conference and the reasons why Russia had not been invited to the Quebec talks. The statement also dealt with the joint Far Eastern Command and the question of a Second Front in Europe. The argument involved the reasons for uniting the Allies for war and peace and the reasons why a Second Front had not yet been opened. In the epilogue came

⁸⁹²Ibid., p.225. ⁸⁹³Ibid., p.228. ⁸⁹⁴Ibid., p.229.

a call of dedication for the peoples of Britain, Russia, the United States, and China.

STYLE

Level. The level of the style in "Call for a Three-Power Talk" was elevated. Churchill used imagery, figurative language, and rhetorical devices, etc. in great numbers for emotional effect. There were few statistics and more generalizations and assumptions. He also used a great deal of acclamation and deprecation.

Diction and word choice. The word choice was primarily Anglo-Saxon with some emphasis in the poem on French place names. The words were mostly poly-syllabic, though neither uncommon nor difficult to pronounce. Word choice was rather abstract and full of imagery, especially in the poem and the epilogue.

Sentence structure. The paragraphs were not long and the greater part of the sentences were either simple or complex; however, all four types were used in the total construction of the speech. The following paragraph, taken from the speech, was representative of the general structure used;

Here at the gateway of Canada, in mighty lands which have never known the totalitarian tyrannies of Hitler and Mussolini, the spirit of freedom has found a safe and abiding home. Here that spirit is no wandering phantom. It is enshrined in Parliamentary institutions based on universal suffrage and evolved through the centuries by the English-speaking peoples. It is inspired by the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence. It is guarded by resolute and vigilant millions, never so strong or so well armed as to-day.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹⁵Ibid., p.224.

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Imagery. Churchill embellished much of "Call for a Three-Power Talk" with imagery, most of it visual. He used a great deal of it when he spoke of Canada and the many historical landmarks there:

Here at the gateway of Canada, in mighty lands which have never known the totalitarian tyrannies of Hitler and Mussolini, the spirit of freedom has found a safe and abiding home. Here that spirit is no wandering phantom. It is enshrined in Parliamentary institutions based on universal suffrage and evolved through the centuries by the English-speaking peoples. It is inspired by the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence.⁸⁹⁶

Here above all, in the capital and heart of French Canada, was it right to think of the French people in their agony, to set on foot new measures for their deliverance, and to send them a message across the ocean that we have not forgotten them, nor all the services that France has rendered to culture and civilisation, to the march of human intellect and to the rights of man.⁸⁹⁷

He said that the purpose of the Quebec conference was one of "heating and inflaming the war with Japan...."⁸⁹⁸ And to the people of the world he defended the progress which the Anglo-American armies had made: "I submit to the judgment of the United Nations, and of history, that British and American strategy...has been the best that was open to us in a practical sense."⁸⁹⁹ He said that: "The whole of the Balkans is aflame...."⁹⁰⁰ And the Balkans were aflame against the man who "had...dreamed himself already among the Caesars...."⁹⁰¹

Metaphor. "Call for a Three-Power Talk" contained several

⁸⁹⁶Ibid.

⁸⁹⁷Ibid.

⁸⁹⁸Ibid., p.226.

⁸⁹⁹Ibid., pp.227-28.

⁹⁰⁰Ibid., p.229.

⁹⁰¹Ibid., p.232.

metaphors among its figurative expressions. Churchill alluded to the Germans and the war in various ways and with many different expressions. He spoke of "Hitler's clutches"⁹⁰² and of France's being "torn to pieces."⁹⁰³ He said of the Germans in Europe; "We see them sprawled over a dozen once free and happy countries, with their talons making festering wounds, the scars of which will never be effaced."⁹⁰⁴ And, using metaphor, Churchill discussed the air training centre in Canada; "The Empire Air Training Organisation... has found its seat in Canada, and has welcomed the flower of the manhood of Great Britain, of Australia, and New Zealand...."⁹⁰⁵

Personification. The Prime Minister employed a few phrases which contained personification: "...the spirit of freedom has found a safe and abiding home.;"⁹⁰⁶ "...destruction of those monstrous and evil dominations which have so nearly cost each and all of us our national lives and mankind its future.;"⁹⁰⁷ "Nazi tyranny and Prussian militarism, those two loathsome dominations, may well foresee and dread their approaching doom."⁹⁰⁸

Irony and satire. Churchill made use of little irony or satire in this address; the best example was the phrase in which he spoke of Mountbatten's youthfulness; "It is true that Lord Louis Mountbatten is only 43. ...if an officer having devoted his life to the military art does not know war at 43, he is not likely to learn much about it later on."⁹⁰⁹

⁹⁰²Ibid., p.224. ⁹⁰³Ibid., p.227. ⁹⁰⁴Ibid., p.231.

⁹⁰⁵Ibid., p.225. ⁹⁰⁶Ibid., p.224. ⁹⁰⁷Ibid., p.230.

⁹⁰⁸Ibid., p.231. ⁹⁰⁹Ibid., p.230.

Analogy. The Prime Minister employed two analogies; in the first one he compared Lord Mountbatten to a "complete triphibian"⁹¹⁰ and in the other one he said; "...the Western democracies should be like a boxer who fights with two hands and not one."⁹¹¹

Anaphora and epistrophe. Churchill employed anaphora a few times in his address. He used it when speaking of France; "We may be sure that all will come right. We may be sure that France will rise again...."⁹¹² And there were other examples; "...having regard to the limitations of ocean transport, to the peculiar conditions of amphibious warfare, and to the character and training of the armies we possess...;"⁹¹³ "Certainly we see all Europe rising under Hitler's tyranny....Certainly we see the Germans hated as no race has ever been hated in human history...."⁹¹⁴

Hyperbole. Churchill used several phrases containing hyperbole; "Certainly no more fitting and splendid setting could have been chosen for a meeting...;"⁹¹⁵ "No Government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injuries so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler upon Russia."⁹¹⁶ He sent a note of encouragement to the "Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia, who have never faltered for one moment in their duty...."⁹¹⁷

Metonymy and synecdoche. There was frequent use of metonymy in the address and Churchill began with a reference to the United States and Britain; "...the two great Powers of sea and of air....in the

⁹¹⁰Ibid.

⁹¹¹Ibid., p.228.

⁹¹²Ibid., p.224.

⁹¹³Ibid., p.228.

⁹¹⁴Ibid., p.231.

⁹¹⁵Ibid., p.223.

⁹¹⁶Ibid., p.229.

⁹¹⁷Ibid.

capital and heart of French Canada....⁹¹⁸ He also employed such terms as: "...heart of the Mother Country...;"⁹¹⁹ "...three great opponents of the Hitlerite tyranny."⁹²⁰ The speech included two or three examples of synecdoche; "...to keep the war as distant and as long as possible from German soil.;"⁹²¹ "...Yugoslavia and Greece will once again be free...;"⁹²² "...are having blasting and desolating war brought to their hearths and homes.;"⁹²³ "...brought to our notice every day by Press and broadcast."⁹²⁴

Acclamation. As a speech whose object was to call for a "Three-Power Talk" the address contained an effort to cement relations by the use of acclamation. Mention was made of France;

For forty years or more I have believed in the greatness and virtue of France, often in dark and baffling days I have not wavered, and since the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 I have always served and worked actively with the French in the defense of good causes.⁹²⁵

And Churchill included the Canadians; "I have also had the advantage of conferring with the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, that experienced statesman who led the Dominion instantly and unitedly into the war...."⁹²⁶

From the darkest days the Canadian army, growing stronger year by year, has played an indispensable part in guarding our British homeland from invasion. Now it is fighting with distinction in wider and ever-widening fields.⁹²⁷

Churchill said of the generosity of Canada; "All this, of course, was dictated by no law. It came from no treaty or formal obligation. It

⁹¹⁸Ibid., p.224. ⁹¹⁹Ibid., p.225. ⁹²⁰Ibid., p.227.
⁹²¹Ibid., p.228. ⁹²²Ibid., p.229. ⁹²³Ibid., p.231.
⁹²⁴Ibid. ⁹²⁵Ibid., p.224. ⁹²⁶Ibid.
⁹²⁷Ibid., p.225.

sprang in perfect freedom from sentiment and tradition and a generous resolve to serve the future of mankind."⁹²⁸ Churchill also talked about the Russians: "...Marshal Stalin, in direct command of the victorious Russian Armies...;"⁹²⁹ "The entire British Empire sends him our salutes on this brilliant summer campaign, and on the victories of Orel, Kharkov, and Taganrog...;"⁹³⁰ "They fight so well, and they have inflicted such enormous injury upon the military strength of Germany...."⁹³¹ He mentioned the peoples of Southern Europe;

This is also the time to remember the glorious resistance to the invaders of their native lands of the peoples of Yugoslavia and of Greece, and of those whom Mr. Gladstone once called "the heroic Highlanders of Montenegro."⁹³²

Literary quotation. There were some references to historical documents and many references to historical places in the address. He spoke of the "Plains of Abraham," the "Chateau Frontenac, and the ramparts of the Citadel of Quebec...."⁹³³ Churchill mentioned the "Magna Carta" and the "Declaration of Independence,"⁹³⁴ and referred to "Garibaldi" and the "Caesars."⁹³⁵

Alliteration. For sound effect Churchill made use of alliteration; "...rescue and rebuild...;"⁹³⁶ "...darkest days...;"⁹³⁷ "...intermingled and interwoven...;"⁹³⁸ "...common cause...;"⁹³⁹ "...confidence and candour...;"⁹⁴⁰ "...conceal their complaints...;"⁹⁴¹ "...fine front

⁹²⁸Ibid. ⁹²⁹Ibid., p.226. ⁹³⁰Ibid. ⁹³¹Ibid., p.227.

⁹³²Ibid., p.229. ⁹³³Ibid., p.224. ⁹³⁴Ibid.

⁹³⁵Ibid., p.232. ⁹³⁶Ibid., p.224. ⁹³⁷Ibid., p.225.

⁹³⁸Ibid., p.226. ⁹³⁹Ibid. ⁹⁴⁰Ibid., p.227. ⁹⁴¹Ibid.

in France...;"⁹⁴² "...reaped rich and substantial results.;"⁹⁴³

"...heroic Highlanders...."⁹⁴⁴

Climax. Churchill used climax to close the address;

It is not given to the cleverest and most calculating of mortals to know with certainty what is their interest. Yet it is given to quite a lot of simple folk to know every day what is their duty. That is the path along which the British Commonwealth and Empire, the great Republic of the United States, the vast Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the indomitable and innumerable people of China—all the United Nations—that is the path along which we shall march till our work is done and we may rest from our labours, and the whole world may turn with hope, with science, with good sense, and dear-bought experience, from war to lasting peace.⁹⁴⁵

X. WOMEN OF BRITAIN

INVENTION

Logos—non-artistic proof

Evidence. Churchill used evidence throughout the address to the Women of Britain, part of it was statistical and part of it was historical. He employed evidence in the opening lines of the speech when in his proem he talked of the role that women had played in the war effort;

I remember in 1939, at Manchester, making an appeal for a million women to come forward into the war effort in all its forms. This was thought to be a very extravagant proposal at the time, but it is not a third of what has since been required and of what has been forthcoming.⁹⁴⁶

These women had been desperately needed because England had had a difficult task to perform;

We have to guard the seas; we have to bring in our food and materials; we have to guard our homes against the ever-present threat of oversea attacks; we have to be ready to meet intensive

⁹⁴²Ibid.

⁹⁴³Ibid., p.228.

⁹⁴⁴Ibid., p.229.

⁹⁴⁵Ibid., p.232.

⁹⁴⁶Ibid., p.283.

and novel forms of air attack at any time; we have to grow a far greater proportion of our own food than we ever did before; we have to carry on all our vast production of munitions; we have to build warships and merchant ships in large numbers; we have to maintain the life of our civilian population, and take care of the sick, the old and the broken.⁹⁴⁷

And these women had filled all kinds and types of jobs:

...work in the fields, heavy work in the foundries and in the shops, very refined work on radio and precision instruments, work in the hospitals, responsible clerical work of all kinds, work throughout the munitions factories, work in the mixed batteries....⁹⁴⁸

Britain was operating at full capacity but there were still production needs and problems: "I cannot expect, after four years of war, that there is much slack to take up.... We are fully extended now, and what we have to do is to hold it, to maintain this effort...."⁹⁴⁹

Authority. There was little use of authority in the address and the authority which was used was used more in terms of allusion and reference than in terms of actual quotation. For example, Churchill spoke of the admiration of the Allies for the British war effort: "The war effort of our 46 millions living in Great Britain and Northern Ireland is at present time justly admired by our Allies."⁹⁵⁰ Later he referred to Bevin, the Minister of Labour: "...my friend Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour, has the greatest possible difficulty in providing for even approved demands which are made upon him by all the Departments of the State."⁹⁵¹

Sign. "Women of Britain" opened with argument from sign: "This

⁹⁴⁷Ibid., p.284. ⁹⁴⁸Ibid., p.285. ⁹⁴⁹Ibid.

⁹⁵⁰Ibid., p.284. ⁹⁵¹Ibid., p.285.

impressive and representative gathering marks a definite recognition of the part which women are playing in our struggle for right and freedom."⁹⁵² The address contained another argument from sign which was used when the Prime Minister discussed his cause and its future:

All over the world men and women, under every sky and climate, of every race, creed and colour, all have the feeling that in the casting-down of this monstrous Nazi engine of tyranny, cruelty, greed and aggression—in the casting of it down shattered in pieces, something will have been achieved by the whole human race which will affect in a decisive manner its future destinies, and which will even in our own time be marked by very sensible improvement in the conditions under which the great masses of the people live.⁹⁵³

Assumption. Churchill made several assumptions in his address, mostly assumptions with relation either to the British war effort or to the enemy. He posed one assumption on the hope of the enemy for the coming year:

And the enemy—what is their hope? Their hope is that we shall get wearied, that the democracies will faint and falter on the long road, and that now, in the fifth year of the war, there will be doubts, despondencies and slackness; and then they hope that out of this they will be able, consolidated in their central fortress of Europe or in their remote home islands of Japan, to extract from our weariness and from any divisions which might appear among us the means of making terms to enable them to repair their losses, to re-gather their forces, and to open upon the world in, it may be, a decade, another war, even more terrible than that through which we are passing.⁹⁵⁴

Another assumption dealt with the part of women in war production:

This war effort could not have been achieved if the women had not marched forward in millions and undertaken all kinds of tasks and work for which any other generation but our own—unless you go back to the Stone Age—would have considered them unfitted....⁹⁵⁵

In all this the women of Britain have borne, are bearing, and

⁹⁵²Ibid., p.283. ⁹⁵³Ibid., p.286. ⁹⁵⁴Ibid., p.284.

⁹⁵⁵Ibid., p.285.

will continue to bear, a part which excites admiration among our Allies, and will be found to have definitely altered those social and sex balances which years of convention had established.⁹⁵⁶

Logos--artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. The Prime Minister made little use of argument from generalization, however, he did use it when speaking about the British war effort: "Upon the whole, there is no community engaged in this war which is more smoothly, effectively, and exhaustively organised for war; there is no community which presents so many different sides...of war effort."⁹⁵⁷ He formed a second generalization around the future of Britain after the war;

Freedom will be erected on unshakable foundations, and at her side will be Right and Justice; and I am sure of this, that when the victory is gained we shall show poise and temper as admirable as that which we displayed in the days of our mortal danger, that we shall not be led astray by false guides either into apathy and weakness or into brutality, but that the name of our dear country, our island home, will by our conduct, by our clairvoyance, by our self-restraint, by our inflexible tenacity of purpose, long stand in honour amongst the nations of the world.⁹⁵⁸

Inductive reasoning--argument from causation. Churchill employed argument from causation to predict a catastrophe if and when Britain slackened its pace;

...if this war were so handled that the unity of national effort were diminished, that its pace and vigour were slackened, that we fell apart, that apathy overtook us, and if this were typical throughout the Forces of the United Nations, then indeed another set of dangers...would march upon us. The War would languish, our soldiers would find themselves short of munitions and services just at the time when they would need them most....⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵⁶Ibid., p.286. ⁹⁵⁷Ibid., p.284. ⁹⁵⁸Ibid., p.286.

⁹⁵⁹Ibid., p.284.

In the forthcoming year you will see larger armies fighting, you will see more powerful air forces striking at the heart of the enemy's country; but the actual demands made upon the British population cannot be greatly increased. The augmentation of munitions will follow from the smoother running of the great processes which are already at work, rather than from any multiplication of the human beings engaged in production.⁹⁶⁰

Another causal argument was used to show that the women of Britain would rise to social equality with men:

It may seem strange that a great advance in the position of women in the world, in industry, in controls of all kinds, should be made in time of war and not in time of peace. ...War is the teacher, a hard, stern, efficient teacher. War has taught us to make these strides forward towards a far more complete equalisation of the parts to be played by men and women in society.⁹⁶¹

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. There was no argument from analogy in the address.

Deductive reasoning—argument from syllogism and enthymeme. Churchill used little argument from enthymeme and no argument from syllogism. He used one enthymeme in discussing production:

We are, as I say, full out, and to hold that and to maintain that is a tremendous task, and one that will require the utmost firmness of character in all His Majesty's subjects, and extreme care, diligence, and vigilance on the part of those entrusted with public office in any form.⁹⁶²

He spoke of the future in terms of an enthymeme too: "All the problems of the post-war world, some of which seem so baffling now, will be easier of solution once decisive victory has been gained...."⁹⁶³

Ethos

Sincerity. The Prime Minister's sincerity was evidenced by his

⁹⁶⁰Ibid., pp.285-86. ⁹⁶¹Ibid., p.285. ⁹⁶²Ibid., p.286.

⁹⁶³Ibid., p.287.

attitude toward the situation which confronted the nation. He always referred to it as serious and apt to last for a long time. Churchill told this group of women; "We are engaged in total war. We are engaged in a struggle for life."⁹⁶⁴ "We are fully extended now, and what we have to do is to hold it, to maintain this effort, through the fifth year of war, or the sixth if need be; for we will never stop until we have achieved our purpose."⁹⁶⁵

Friendliness. Churchill demonstrated a spirit of friendliness toward the women of England who had contributed so much and would continue contributing; "This impressive and representative gathering marks a definite recognition of the part which women are playing in our struggle for right and freedom."⁹⁶⁶ "This war effort could not have been achieved if the women had not marched forward in millions and undertaken all kinds of tasks and work...."⁹⁶⁷ The women had done much to replace men; "...I take a special interest in those--- most remarkable societies where there are more women than men, and where the weapons are handled with the utmost skill and proficiency."⁹⁶⁸

Knowledge of subject. The Prime Minister showed a familiarity with the progress of the war on a general basis and then its progress in terms of home production. He spoke of the number of women that were involved in production, the parts they were taking, the tasks they were performing, and the efficiency with which they worked.

Devotion to cause. Churchill said of his cause; "It is a good

⁹⁶⁴Ibid., p.284. ⁹⁶⁵Ibid., p.285. ⁹⁶⁶Ibid., p.283.

⁹⁶⁷Ibid., p.285. ⁹⁶⁸Ibid.

cause. No one has any doubt about that."⁹⁶⁹ And he said of its ultimate triumph;

Freedom will be erected on unshakable foundations, and at her side will be Right and Justice; and I am sure of this, that when the victory is gained we shall show a poise and temper as admirable as that which we displayed in the days of our mortal danger, that we shall not be led astray by false guides either into apathy and weakness or into brutality, but that the name of our dear country, our island home, will, by our conduct, by our clairvoyance, by our self-restraint, by our inflexible tenacity of purpose, long stand in honour amongst the nations of the world.⁹⁷⁰

Pathos

Love and friendship. As in his ethos, Churchill used love and friendship to build proof, this time it was pathos. Many of the passages used in the two types were the same. There was, however, one additional statement which was primarily pathos:

In all this the women of Britain have borne, are bearing, and will continue to bear, a part which excites admiration among our Allies, and will be found to have definitely altered those social and sex balances which years of convention had established.⁹⁷¹

Enmity and hatred. The address contained enmity and hatred in most of the references to the enemy; however, there was little of either in the speech on the whole. Churchill said that the foe had but one hope, that of time: "...to enable them to repair their losses, to re-gather their forces, and to open upon the world in, it may be, a decade, another war, even more terrible than that through which we are passing."⁹⁷² There was also enmity and hatred in his description of the enemy: "...this monstrous Nazi engine of tyranny, cruelty,

⁹⁶⁹Ibid., p.286.

⁹⁷⁰Ibid.

⁹⁷¹Ibid.

⁹⁷²Ibid., p.284.

greed and aggression...."973

Confidence. Churchill spoke of the ultimate triumph of the cause for which England was fighting: "In the forthcoming year you will see larger armies fighting, you will see more powerful air forces striking at the heart of the enemy's country...."974 It was a growing cause, a cause with a future;

I have no fear of the future. Let us go forward into its mysteries, let us tear aside the veils which hide it from our eyes, and let us move onward with confidence and courage. All the problems of the post-war world, some of which seem so baffling now, will be easier of solution once decisive victory has been gained, and once it is clear that victory won in arms has not been cast away by folly or by violence when the moment comes to lay the broad foundations of the future world order, and it is time to speak great words of peace and truth to all.975

Emulation. Churchill used emulation many times during the course of his speech. He used it especially in his references to the women; "This impressive and representative gathering marks a definite recognition of the part which women are playing in our struggle for right and freedom."976 These women were worthy of emulation from the other Allies; "In all this the women of Britain have borne, are bearing, and will continue to bear, a part which excites admiration among our Allies...."977 Then he applied emulation to the entire British nation;

The war effort of our 46 millions living in Great Britain and Northern Ireland is at present time justly admired by our Allies. Upon the whole, there is no community engaged in this war which is more smoothly, effectively, and exhaustively organized for war; there is no community which presents so many different sides and varieties of war effort.978

973 Ibid., p.286. 974 Ibid., pp.285-86. 975 Ibid., pp.286-87.

976 Ibid., p.283. 977 Ibid., p.286. 978 Ibid., p.284.

ARRANGEMENT

The arrangement of Churchill's address to the "Women of Britain" followed the four division pattern of proem, statement, argument, and epilogue. The proem contained a discussion of the part that women were asked to play in production. The statement involved a consideration of the demands of the war and a warning to the people against relaxing or quarreling. In the argument the reasons were given for the enemy's desire that the Allies let up in their prosecution of the war. It also illustrated how production could be increased in an economy that was already at peak output. In the epilogue there was a discussion of the future and the post war period. There was also a description of the effects that the war would have upon the equalization of the status of men and women.

STYLE

Level. The style level was middle. There was a great deal of figurative language present in the speech but most of it came near the conclusion. The purpose of the speech was to inspire, but this inspiration was obtained without, for the purposes of the analysis, large numbers of imageric phrases or abstract references.

Distion and word choice. Churchill used both mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic words, but the emphasis was more upon the mono-syllabic or short poly-syllabic ones. There were many short, simple words throughout each paragraph. The words were all Angle-Saxon in origin and there were no foreign words or English words which his audience would not have understood. The language was generally concrete, though there were occasional uses of abstraction and imagery, especially

in the epilogue.

Sentence structure. The sentence structure, like the word choice, was, to a great extent, simple. The two predominating sentence types were simple and compound-complex although all four kinds of sentences were present. A sample paragraph illustrated the most common sentence forms:

We are engaged in total war. We are engaged in a struggle for life. Although you cannot say that the peril is as immanent as it was in 1940, during that year when we were all alone, nevertheless, if this war were so handled that the unity of national effort were diminished, that its pace and vigour were slackened, that we fell apart, that apathy overtook us, and if this were typical throughout the Forces of the United Nations, then indeed another set of dangers, not perhaps so catastrophic in their aspect, but none the less deadly in their character, would march upon us. The war would languish, our soldiers would find themselves short of munitions and services just at the time when they would need them most, just at the time when their action was growing to an ever larger scale.⁹⁷⁹

Rhetorical devices and figurative language.

Imagery. Churchill used visual imagery throughout the address but the greater amount of it came in the epilogue. He told the women to whom he was speaking: "We are engaged in a struggle for life."⁹⁸⁰ He warned them of the consequences of slowing down their efforts: "...another set of dangers, not perhaps so catastrophic in their aspect, but none the less deadly in their character, would march upon us."⁹⁸¹ There were several other examples of visual imagery in the speech: "Their hope is that we shall get wearied, that the democracies will faint and falter on the long road...;"⁹⁸² "...the ideas of total war, of fighting for life, must be continually in your minds.;"⁹⁸³ "...all

⁹⁷⁹Ibid., p.284. ⁹⁸⁰Ibid., p.283. ⁹⁸¹Ibid., p.284.

⁹⁸²Ibid. ⁹⁸³Ibid.

have the feeling that in the casting-down of this monstrous Nazi engine of tyranny, cruelty, greed and aggression--in the casting of it down shattered in pieces...;"⁹⁸⁴ "I have no fear of the future. Let us go forward into its mysteries, let us tear aside the veils which hide it from our eyes, and let us move onward with confidence and courage."⁹⁸⁵

Metaphor. There were only a few metaphors in the address; "...air forces striking at the heart of the enemy's country...;"⁹⁸⁶ "War is the teacher, a hard, stern, efficient teacher. War has taught us to make these vast strides forward...."⁹⁸⁷

Personification. The Prime Minister used several examples of personification which were also other figures and were so classified. However, there was one additional example that was primarily this "life-giving" type: "Freedom will be erected on unshakable foundations, and at her side will be Right and Justice...."⁹⁸⁸

Contrast. Churchill used one illustration of contrast:

It may seem strange that a great advance in the position of women in the world, in industry, in controls of all kinds, should be made in time of war and not in time of peace. One would have thought that in the days of peace the progress of women to an ever larger share in life and work and guidance of the community would have grown, and that, under the violence of war, it would be cast back. The reverse is true.⁹⁸⁹

Anaphora and epistrophe. Churchill employed some anaphora: "We are engaged in total war. We are engaged in a struggle for life.;"⁹⁹⁰ "...munitions and services just at the time when they would need them

⁹⁸⁴Ibid., p.286. ⁹⁸⁵Ibid., p.287. ⁹⁸⁶Ibid., p.286.

⁹⁸⁷Ibid., p.285. ⁹⁸⁸Ibid., p.286. ⁹⁸⁹Ibid., p.285.

⁹⁹⁰Ibid., p.284.

most, just at the time when their action was growing to an ever larger scale.;"991 "...our island home, will, by our conduct, by our clairvoyance, by our self-restraint, by our inflexible tenacity of purpose, long stand in honour amongst the nations of the world.;"992 "We have to guard...we have to bring...we have to guard...we have to be ready...we have to grow...we have to carry...we have to build... we have to maintain...."993

Hyperbole. At one point in the address Churchill used hyperbole to illustrate the war program:

Upon the whole, there is no community engaged in this war which is more smoothly, effectively, and exhaustively organised for war; there is no community which presents so many different sides and varieties of war effort.994

Acclamation. There was rather extensive use of acclamation in this speech. Churchill usually used it with reference to the women; "This impressive and representative gathering marks a definite recognition of the part which women are playing in our struggle for right and freedom.;"995 "The war effort of our 46 millions living in Great Britain and Northern Ireland is at present time justly admired by our Allies.;"996 "...when the victory is gained we shall show a poise and temper as admirable as that which we displayed in the days of our mortal danger...;"997 "In all this the women of Britain have borne, are bearing, and will continue to bear, a part which excites admiration among our Allies...."998

991 Ibid.

992 Ibid., p.286. 993 Ibid., p.284.

994 Ibid.

995 Ibid., p.283. 996 Ibid., p.284.

997 Ibid., p.286.

998 Ibid.

Alliteration. Churchill used alliteration occasionally for word emphasis and sound; "...war would languish...;"⁹⁹⁹ "...faint and falter...;"¹⁰⁰⁰ "...means of making...;"¹⁰⁰¹ "...air attack at any time...;"¹⁰⁰² "...parts to be played...;"¹⁰⁰³ "...tremendous task...;"¹⁰⁰⁴ "...fear of the future."¹⁰⁰⁵

Climax. The Prime Minister used climax to close his address;

I have no fear of the future. Let us go forward into its mysteries, let us tear aside the veils which hide it from our eyes, and let us move onward with confidence and courage. All the problems of the post-war world, some of which seem so baffling now, will be easier of solution once decisive victory has been gained, and once it is clear that victory won in arms has not been cast away by folly or by violence when the moment comes to lay the broad foundations of the future world order, and it is time to speak great words of peace and truth to all.¹⁰⁰⁶

XI. VICTORY BROADCAST

INVENTION

Logos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. The Prime Minister used a great deal of historical material as the basis for his address which was primarily a survey of the war years. The speech contained a brief account of many of the outstanding events and situations which had arisen during the conflict; for example, he began his speech with a reference to the air battle for Britain;

In July, August, and September 1940, forty or fifty squadrons of British aircraft in the Battle of Britain broke the teeth of the German air fleet at odds of seven or eight to one.

.....

⁹⁹⁹Ibid., p.284. ¹⁰⁰⁰Ibid. ¹⁰⁰¹Ibid. ¹⁰⁰²Ibid.

¹⁰⁰³Ibid., p.285. ¹⁰⁰⁴Ibid., p.286. ¹⁰⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁶Ibid., p.287.

...1941 revealed us still in jeopardy. The hostile aircraft could fly across the approaches to our Island, where forty-six millions of people had to import half their daily bread and all the materials they needed for peace or war. These hostile aircraft could fly across the approaches from Brest to Norway and back again in a single flight. They could observe all the movements of our shipping in and out of the Clyde and Mersey, and could direct upon our convoys the large and increasing numbers of U-boats with which the enemy bespattered the Atlantic....1007

Churchill also discussed the early conflict in Africa;

We had to make the dispatch to General Wavell all round the Cape... of the tanks—practically all we had in this Island—and this enabled us as far back as November 1940 to defend Egypt against invasion and hurl back with the loss of a quarter of a million captives and with heavy slaughter the Italian armies....1008

Then he recounted the invasion preparations which Britain had had to make when it was thought that Hitler might try to occupy the Isles:

We were, however, in a fairly tough condition by the early months of 1941.... Our Dunkirk army and field force troops in Britain, almost a million strong, were nearly all equipped or re-equipped. We had ferried over the Atlantic a million rifles and a thousand cannon from the United States, with all their ammunition, since the previous June.1009

There were the German invasion of Russia and Pearl Harbour;

On June 22, 1941, Hitler...treacherously, without warning, without the slightest provocation, hurled himself on Russia and came face to face with Marshal Stalin and the numberless millions of the Russian people. And then at the end of the year Japan struck...at the United States at Pearl Harbour, and at the same time attacked us in Malaya and Singapore. Thereupon Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the Republic of the United States.1010

The next use of evidence came in the Prime Minister's discussion of the re-conquest of Europe and the landings at Normandy;

...last year on June 6 we seized a carefully selected little toe of German-occupied France and poured millions in from this Island

1007Churchill, Triumph and Tragedy, p.767.

1008ibid., p.768. 1009ibid. 1010ibid., p.769.

and from across the Atlantic, until the Seine, the Somme, and the Rhine all fell behind the advancing Anglo-American spear-heads.¹⁰¹¹

Near the end of the war came the German rocket and long range military campaign against Britain:

...when our armies cleaned up the coast and overran all the points of discharge, and when the Americans captured vast stores of rockets of all kinds near Leipzig, which only the other day added to the information we had, and when all the preparations being made on the coasts of France and Holland could be examined in detail, in scientific detail...we knew how grave had been the peril, not only from the rockets and flying bombs, but from multiple long-range artillery which was being prepared against London.¹⁰¹²

Authority. Churchill made frequent references to authority in his "Victory Broadcast." His first reference was to the King: "It was five years ago Thursday last that His Majesty the King commissioned me to form a National Government of all parties to carry on our affairs."¹⁰¹³ He then turned to Hitler: "...Hitler said he would 'rub out our cities.' That's what he said, 'rub out our cities.'"¹⁰¹⁴ Churchill also used Roosevelt as an authority:

Great anxiety was felt by President Roosevelt, and indeed by thinking men throughout the United States, about what would happen to us in the early part of 1941. The President felt to the depths of his being that the destruction of Britain would not only be an event fearful in itself, but that it would expose to mortal danger the vast...potentialities and the future destiny of the United States.¹⁰¹⁵

He alluded to history as another authority: "...you have sometimes noticed in your reading of British history that we have had to hold out from time to time all alone, or to be the mainspring of coalitions, against a Continental tyrant...."¹⁰¹⁶ The direction of the war itself

¹⁰¹¹Ibid.

¹⁰¹²Ibid., p.771. ¹⁰¹³Ibid., p.766.

¹⁰¹⁴Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰¹⁵Ibid., p.768. ¹⁰¹⁶Ibid., p.769.

had been the responsibility of a group of authorities and they had controlled Britain's strategy:

It may well be said that our strategy was conducted so that the best combinations, the closest concert, were imparted into the operations by the combined Staffs of Britain and the United States, with whom, from Teheran onward, the war leaders of Russia were joined.¹⁰¹⁷

Sign. There was little argument from sign present in the address; however, Churchill did use argument from sign when he spoke of the conditions of harmony within the British Empire when Germany finally surrendered;

After various episodes had occurred it became clear last week that so far things have worked out pretty well, and that the British Commonwealth and Empire stands more united and more effectively powerful than at any time in its long romantic history.¹⁰¹⁸

He used a second argument from sign in discussing Britain's part in the combat and British losses in manpower: "...we have taken our full share of the fighting, as the scale of our losses shows."¹⁰¹⁹

Assumption. The Prime Minister also drew few assumptions in his broadcast. He made an assumption with regard to the defenses of the Irish Ports and followed it with a second in relation to the ease with which Britain could have "forced" Ireland into the war;

Owing to the action of the Dublin Governments, so much at variance with the temper and the instinct of thousands of Southern Irishmen who hastened to the battle-front to prove their ancient valour, the approaches which the Southern Irish ports and airfields could so easily have guarded were closed by the hostile aircraft and U-boats.... However, with a restraint and poise to which I say, history will find few parallels, His Majesty's Government never laid a violent hand upon them, though at times it would have been quite easy and quite natural.¹⁰²⁰

¹⁰¹⁷Ibid., p.771. ¹⁰¹⁸Ibid., p.766. ¹⁰¹⁹Ibid., p.770.

¹⁰²⁰Ibid., p.767.

Logos—artistic proof

Inductive reasoning—argument from generalization. Churchill made several generalizations in his speech. He formed a generalization from the seriousness of the conditions in the early days of the war and from the reactions of the Southern Irish to the possibility that Britain might have perished; "This was indeed a deadly moment in our life, and if it had not been for the loyalty and friendship of Northern Ireland we should have been forced to come to close quarters or perish for ever from the earth."¹⁰²¹ From history he advanced another generalization: "...if you hold out alone long enough there always comes a time when the tyrant makes some ghastly mistake which alters the whole balance of the struggle."¹⁰²² Churchill generalized on the entrance of America into the war; "...never since the United States entered the war have I had the slightest doubt that we should be saved, and that we only had to do our duty in order to win."¹⁰²³ Making another generalization, he discussed the aftermath of the battle of Alamein; "...from Alamein in October 1942, through the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa, of Sicily, of Italy, with the capture of Rome, we marched many miles and never knew defeat."¹⁰²⁴ And he used generalization in speaking of that Anglo-American Army; "...it may also be said that never have the forces of two nations fought side by side and intermingled in the lines of battle with so much unity, comradeship, and brotherhood as in the great Anglo-American Armies."¹⁰²⁵

¹⁰²¹Ibid.

¹⁰²²Ibid., p.769. ¹⁰²³Ibid.

¹⁰²⁴Ibid.

¹⁰²⁵Ibid., p.771.

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. Churchill used several causal arguments in his "Victory Broadcast." The first one dealt with the threat of invasion in 1940: "With the autumn storms the immediate danger of invasion in 1940 passed."¹⁰²⁶ Another causal relationship was used when he explained the destruction of the French fleet and the English successes in Egypt:

We had to destroy or capture the French Fleet, which, had it ever passed undamaged into German hands, would, together with the Italian Fleet, have perhaps enabled the German Navy to face us on the high seas.... We had to make the dispatch to General Wavell all round the Cape...of tanks...and this enabled us as far back as November 1940 to defend Egypt against invasion and hurl back with the loss of a quarter of a million captives and with heavy slaughter the Italian armies....¹⁰²⁷

That London was not left in shambles at the end of the war, said Churchill, was due to the fact that the war ended when it did:

There was one final danger from which the collapse of Germany has saved us. In London and the southeastern counties we have suffered for a year from various forms of flying bombs...and rockets.... Only just in time did the Allied armies blast the viper in his nest. Otherwise the autumn of 1944, to say nothing of 1945, might well have seen London as shattered as Berlin.¹⁰²⁸

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. Churchill constructed two analogies for purposes of argument. One analogy dealt with history:

...we have had to hold out for quite a long time; against the Spanish Armada, against the might of Louis XIV, when he had Europe for nearly twenty-five years under William III and Marlborough, and a hundred and fifty years ago, when Nelson, Pitt, and Wellington broke Napoleon, not without assistance from the heroic Russians of 1812. In all these world wars our Island kept the lead of Europe or else held out alone.

And if you hold out alone long enough there always comes a time when the tyrant makes some ghastly mistake which alters the whole

¹⁰²⁶Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰²⁷Ibid., p.768. ¹⁰²⁸Ibid., p.771.

balance of the struggle. On June 22, 1941 Hitler...hurled himself on Russia and came face to face with Marshal Stalin and the numberless millions of the Russian people.¹⁰²⁹

The other analogy was formed with regard to the planning of the United Nations Organisation; "...we must labour that the World Organisation which the United Nations are creating at San Francisco does not become an idle name, does not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak."¹⁰³⁰

Deductive reasoning—argument from syllogism and enthymeme.

The Prime Minister used several enthymemes as foundation for his speech.

He posed one enthymeme built upon the situation of 1941:

...the dawn of 1941 revealed us still in jeopardy. The hostile aircraft could fly across the approaches to our Island, where forty-six millions of people had to import half their daily bread and all the materials they needed for peace or war.¹⁰³¹

Another enthymeme was found in his review of Britain's internal security: "We were, however, in a fairly tough condition by the early months of 1941....Our Dunkirk army and field force troops in Britain, almost a million strong, were nearly all equipped or re-equipped."¹⁰³²

He offered a final enthymeme in relation to the future:

I wish I could tell you tonight that all our toils and troubles were over. ...But...I must warn you...there is still a lot to do.... On the continent of Europe we have yet to make sure that the simple and honourable purposes for which we entered the war are not brushed aside or overlooked in the months following our success....

.....
We must never forget that beyond all lurks Japan, harrassed and failing but still a people of a hundred millions, for whose warriors death has few terrors.¹⁰³³

¹⁰²⁹Ibid., p.769. ¹⁰³⁰Ibid., p.772. ¹⁰³¹Ibid.

¹⁰³²Ibid., p.768. ¹⁰³³Ibid., p.772.

Ethos

Simplicity. Churchill demonstrated simplicity when he gave credit to the U.S. for its part in the war; "...never since the United States entered the war have I had the slightest doubt that we should be saved, and that we only had to do our duty to win."¹⁰³⁴ A second note of simplicity stood out when he spoke of his own feelings toward relinquishing the reins of government:

I wish I could tell you tonight that all our toils and troubles were over. Then indeed I could end my five years' service happily, and if you thought that you had had enough of me that I ought to be put out to grass I tell you I would take it with the best of grace.¹⁰³⁵

Sincerity. The Prime Minister showed sincerity when he spoke of the war and the seriousness of the situations which had confronted the nation. There was no attempt to hide the gravity of the position: "The sense of envelopment, which might at any moment turn to strangulation, lay heavy upon us."¹⁰³⁶ He sincerely admitted that aid given to Greece early in the war was not done without a great deal of serious consternation: "Later in 1941, when we were still alone, we sacrificed unwillingly, to some extent unwittingly, our conquests of the winter in Cyrenaica and Libya in order to stand by Greece...."¹⁰³⁷ He also gave credit to the Russians for detaining a far larger part of the enemy than the other Allies could do:

Now from the other side the mighty military achievements of the Russian people, always holding many more German troops on their front than we could do, rolled forward to meet us in the heart and centre of Germany.¹⁰³⁸

¹⁰³⁴Ibid., p.769. ¹⁰³⁵Ibid., p.772. ¹⁰³⁶Ibid., p.767.

¹⁰³⁷Ibid., p.768. ¹⁰³⁸Ibid., p.770.

And it was with sincerity that he discussed the future and cautioned the British people against the hardship that it would bring:

...I must warn you, as I did when I began this five years' task... that there is still a lot to do, and that you must be prepared for further sacrifices to great causes if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia, the confusion of aim, and "the craven fear of being great."¹⁰³⁹

Friendliness. There was a great deal of friendliness present in the speech as the Prime Minister reviewed the war and credited all those who had helped to bring it to a successful conclusion in Europe:

...this National Government was sustained by Parliament and by the entire British nation at home and by all our fighting men abroad, and by the unswerving co-operation of the Dominions far across the oceans and of our Empire in every quarter of the globe.¹⁰⁴⁰

He was friendly toward the French: "With the assistance of General de Gaulle's indomitable Free French we cleared Syria and the Lebanon of Vichyites and of German aviators and intriguers."¹⁰⁴¹ He was also friendly when he spoke of Britain's commanders and of British-American co-operation:

It is right and natural that we should extol the virtues and glorious services of our own most famous commanders, Alexander and Montgomery.... At the same time we know how great is our debt to the combining and unifying command and high strategic direction of General Eisenhower.¹⁰⁴²

...it may also be said that never have the forces of two nations fought side by side and intermingled in the lines of battle with so much unity, comradeship, and brotherhood as in the great Anglo-American Armies.¹⁰⁴³

Sympathy. There was one use of sympathy in the address and this was present when Churchill expressed his feelings for fallen

¹⁰³⁹Ibid., p.772. ¹⁰⁴⁰Ibid., p.766. ¹⁰⁴¹Ibid., p.769.

¹⁰⁴²Ibid., p.770. ¹⁰⁴³Ibid., p.771.

France; "For a while our prime enemy, our mighty enemy, Germany overran all Europe. France, who bore such a frightful strain in the last great war was beaten to the ground and took some time to recover."¹⁰⁴⁴

Knowledge of subject. Churchill was reviewing the Second World War for his audience and as Prime Minister he had lived through it in all its phases and thus was familiar with its history. In this capacity he demonstrated a good knowledge of subject.

Devotion to cause. Churchill showed devotion to cause several times in his speech, especially when he spoke of the victory over Germany:

Though holiday rejoicing is necessary to the human spirit, yet it must add to the strength and resilience with which every man and woman turns again to the work they have to do, and also to the outlook and watch they have to keep on public affairs.¹⁰⁴⁵

Lated in the address he said:

We seek nothing for ourselves. But we must make sure that those causes which we fought for find recognition at the peace table in facts as well as words, and above all we must labour that the World Organisation which the United Nations are creating at San Francisco does not become an idle name, does not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak.¹⁰⁴⁶

His closing climaxed his devotion to cause:

I told you hard things at the beginning of these last five years; you did not shrink, and I should be unworthy of your confidence and generosity if I did not still cry: Forward, unflinching, unswerving, indomitable, till the whole task is done and the whole world is safe and clean.¹⁰⁴⁷

¹⁰⁴⁴Ibid., p.766. ¹⁰⁴⁵Ibid., p.772. ¹⁰⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁴⁷Ibid., p.773.

Pathos

Love and friendship. Churchill made considerable use of love and friendship to enable him to build pathos. He referred to the aviators in very praiseworthy and friendly terms: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."¹⁰⁴⁸ There was also love and friendship in his mention of the Government of Northern Ireland; "...if it had not been for the loyalty and friendship of Northern Ireland we should have been forced to come to close quarters or perish for ever from the earth."¹⁰⁴⁹ There was friendship and admiration for the other military forces of the Empire;

My friends, when our minds turn to the Northwestern Approaches we will not forget the devotion of our merchant seamen, and our mine-sweepers out every night, and so rarely mentioned in the headlines. Nor will we forget the vast, inventive, adaptive, all-embracing, and, in the end, all-controlling power of the Royal Navy, with its ever more potent new Ally, the Air.¹⁰⁵⁰

And he showed a bond of friendship between Britain and her Dominions;

...we are bound by the ties of honour and fraternal loyalty to the United States to fight this great war at the other end of the world at their side without flagging or failing. We must remember that Australia and New Zealand and Canada were and are all directly menaced by this evil Power. They came to our aid in dark times, and we must not leave unfinished any task which concerns their safety and their future.¹⁰⁵¹

Enmity and hatred. In his review of the European and Far Eastern conflicts Churchill viewed the enemy with enmity and hatred;

For a while our prime enemy, our mighty enemy, Germany, overran almost all Europe. France, who bore such a frightful strain in the last great war was beaten to the ground and took some time to recover. The Low Countries, fighting to the best of their strength,

¹⁰⁴⁸Ibid., p.766. ¹⁰⁴⁹Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰⁵⁰Ibid., pp.767-68.

¹⁰⁵¹Ibid., pp.772-73.

were subjugated. Norway was overrun. Mussolini's Italy stabbed us in the back when we were, as he thought, at our last gasp.¹⁰⁵²

...Hitler, master as he thought himself of all Europe...treacherously, without warning, without the slightest provocation, hurled himself on Russia.... And then at the end of the year Japan struck a felon blow at the United States at Pearl Harbour.¹⁰⁵³

Churchill continued in this same tone; "Only just in time did the Allied armies blast the viper in his nest."¹⁰⁵⁴ He even referred to the Government of Southern Ireland with a certain amount of amity and hatred; "...we left the Dublin Government to frolic with the Germans and later with the Japanese representatives to their hearts' content."¹⁰⁵⁵

Confidence. At many points during his address Churchill demonstrated confidence in his cause, past and future; "I was never one to believe that the invasion of Britain, with the tackle that the enemy had at that time, was a very easy task to accomplish."¹⁰⁵⁶ About the future he said; "...if you hold out alone long enough there always comes a time when the tyrant makes some ghastly mistake which alters the whole balance of the struggle."¹⁰⁵⁷ And to the people of Britain he cried; "Forward...till the whole task is done and the whole world is safe and clean."¹⁰⁵⁸

Shame. There were two groups toward whom Churchill expressed shame. One was Mussolini's Italy and the Italian people; "Mussolini's Italy stabbed us in the back when we were, as he thought, at our

¹⁰⁵²ibid., p.776. ¹⁰⁵³ibid., p.769. ¹⁰⁵⁴ibid., p.771.

¹⁰⁵⁵ibid., p.767. ¹⁰⁵⁶ibid., p.766. ¹⁰⁵⁷ibid., p.769.

¹⁰⁵⁸ibid., p.773.

last gasp."¹⁰⁵⁹ The other group was comprised of the Irish Government; he told his audience that when he thought of the deeds of valour performed by individuals from Southern Ireland he forgot some of the rage he felt against the Government. He hoped that eventually this blot upon the Irish State would go away:

...then I must confess that bitterness by Britain against the Irish race dies in my heart. I can only pray that in years which which I shall not see, the shame will be forgotten and the British Commonwealth of Nations will walk together in mutual comprehension and forgiveness.¹⁰⁶⁰

Emulation. The entire speech was permeated with emulation, emulation of heroes at home and abroad:

In July, August and September 1940, forty or fifty squadrons of British aircraft in the Battle of Britain broke the teeth of the German air fleet at odds of seven or eight to one. ... "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."¹⁰⁶¹

This Blitz was borne without a word of complaint or the slightest sign of flinching, while a very large number of people—honour to them all—proved that London could "take it," and so could our other ravaged centres.¹⁰⁶²

...thousands of Southern Irishmen...hastened to the battle-front to prove their ancient valour.

I think of Lieutenant-Commander Esmonde, V.C., of Lance-Corporal Kenneally, V.C., and Captain Fegen, V.C., and other Irish heroes whose names I could easily recite....¹⁰⁶³

He spoke of Britain's scientists; "...our scientists are not surpassed in any nation in the world, especially when their thought is applied to naval matters."¹⁰⁶⁴ Then he mentioned the French: "France was liberated. She produced a fine army of gallant men to aid her own liberation."¹⁰⁶⁵ And he finally mentioned Britain's military leaders

¹⁰⁵⁹Ibid., p.766. ¹⁰⁶⁰Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰⁶¹Ibid., p.766.

¹⁰⁶²Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰⁶³Ibid. ¹⁰⁶⁴Ibid., p.769. ¹⁰⁶⁵Ibid., p.770.

and General Eisenhower:

It is right and natural that we should extol the virtues and glorious services of our own most famous commanders, Alexander and Montgomery.... At the same time we know how great is our debt to the combining and unifying command and high strategic direction of General Eisenhower.¹⁰⁶⁶

ARRANGEMENT

The arrangement fell into the categories of proem, statement, and epilogue—there was no argument. The proem was brief and dealt with Churchill's appointment by the King in 1940. The statement, which was the larger part of the address, was a discussion, in brief, of the history of the war. In the statement, Churchill's main division, was the story of the Blitz, the entrance of the United States into the war, the African campaigns, the V-2 campaign, the landing at Normandy, and the final meetings of the three armies in Germany and Austria. The epilogue contained a challenge to the people of England to make a sure and democratic peace in Europe while they continued to carry on the war in the Far East.

STYLE

Level The style level was definitely sublime. The speech was primarily one of historical review and as such it was made as inspiring as possible. There was extensive use of figurative language, emulation, acclamation, and imagery. The word choice was often quite emotional.

Diction and word choice. The word choice was Anglo-Saxon and

¹⁰⁶⁶Ibid.

primarily poly-syllabic. The speech in general, and in specific, was abstract and full of imagery.

Sentence structure. There were a great many simple sentences throughout the address but the greater number of sentences employed were either complex or compound, as the following paragraph illustrated:

I shall make it clear at this moment that we never failed to recognise the immense superiority of the power used by the United States in the rescue of France and the defeat of Germany. For our part, British and Canadians, we have had about one-third as many men over there as the Americans, but we have taken our full share of the fighting, as the scale of our losses shows. Our Navy has borne incomparably the heaviest burden in the Atlantic Ocean, in the narrow seas and the Arctic convoys to Russia, while the United States Navy has had to use its immense strength mainly against Japan. We made a fair division of the labour, and we can each report that our work is either done or going to be done. It is right and natural that we should extol the virtues and glorious services of our own most famous commanders, Alexander and Montgomery, neither of whom was ever defeated since they began together in Alamein. Both of them have conducted in Africa, in Italy, in Normandy, and in Germany battles of the first magnitude and of decisive consequence. At the same time we know how great is our debt to the combining and unifying command and high strategic direction of General Eisenhower.¹⁰⁶⁷

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Imagery. Churchill's "Victory Broadcast" contained a great deal of imagery; the introduction and the epilogue both contained especial amounts of it. Most of the imagery was visual. Churchill spoke of France as "beaten to the ground"¹⁰⁶⁸ and told his audience that Hitler believed that he could "rub out" the British cities.¹⁰⁶⁹ There were many other examples of visual imagery; "...if it had not been for the loyalty and friendship of Northern Ireland we should have been forced to come to close quarters or perish for ever from the earth."¹⁰⁷⁰

¹⁰⁶⁷Ibid. ¹⁰⁶⁸Ibid., p.766. ¹⁰⁶⁹Ibid., p.767.

¹⁰⁷⁰Ibid.

"...the British Commonwealth of Nations will walk together in mutual comprehension and forgiveness.;"¹⁰⁷¹ "...the French Fleet...had it ever passed undamaged into German hands, would...have perhaps enabled the German Navy to face us on the high seas.;"¹⁰⁷² "Germany lay open.;"¹⁰⁷³ "We made a fair division of the labour and we can each report that our work is either done or going to be done."¹⁰⁷⁴ Many of Churchill's references to the war period contained visual imagery; he spoke of them as the "heavy, stormy years"¹⁰⁷⁵ and told the people "how grave had been the peril."¹⁰⁷⁶ When he discussed the future he also used visual imagery:

...you must be prepared for further efforts of mind and body and further sacrifices to great causes if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia.... Though holiday rejoicing is necessary to the human spirit, yet it must add to the strength and resilience with which every man and woman turns again to the work they have to do, and also to the outlook and watch they have to keep on public affairs.

...we must make sure that those causes which we fought for find recognition at the peace table as well as words.... It is the victors who must search their hearts in their glowing hours, and be worthy by their nobility of the immense forces that they wield.¹⁰⁷⁷

Along with visual imagery Churchill used some kinesthetic imagery:

"Mussolini's Italy stabbed us in the back when we were, as he thought, at our last gasp."¹⁰⁷⁸ The British Navy stood "ever ready to tear to pieces the barges...in which a German invading army could alone have been transported."¹⁰⁷⁹ Of Britain's darkest hour he said: "The sense of envelopment, which might at any moment turn to strangulation, lay

¹⁰⁷¹Ibid.

¹⁰⁷²Ibid., p.768.

¹⁰⁷³Ibid., p.770.

¹⁰⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁷⁶Ibid., p.771.

¹⁰⁷⁷Ibid., p.772.

¹⁰⁷⁸Ibid., p.766.

¹⁰⁷⁹Ibid.

heavy upon us."¹⁰⁸⁰ Due to aid from Northern Ireland Britain had been able to meet the situation, as Churchill put it; "We were able to breathe; we were able to live; we were able to strike."¹⁰⁸¹

Metaphor. There were many metaphors in the address illustrating implied comparisons; "...squadrons of British aircraft in the Battle of Britain broke the teeth of the German air fleet...;"¹⁰⁸² "...U-boats with which the enemy bespattered the Atlantic...;"¹⁰⁸³ "...we left the Dublin Government to frolic with the Germans and later with the Japanese representatives to their hearts' content...;"¹⁰⁸⁴ "...the Italian armies at whose tail Mussolini had...planned to ride into Cairo or Alexandria...;"¹⁰⁸⁵ "We have played our part in all this process by which the evildoers have been overthrown...;"¹⁰⁸⁶ "...we seized a carefully selected little toe of German-occupied France...;"¹⁰⁸⁷ "Only just in time did the Allied armies blast the viper in his nest...;"¹⁰⁸⁸ "...if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia...."¹⁰⁸⁹

Interrogation and discourse. Churchill's speech contained one example of direct discourse;

Some people say, "Well, what would you expect, if both nations speak the same language, have the same laws, have a great part of their history in common, and have very much the same outlook upon life, with all its hope and glory? Isn't it just the sort of thing that would happen?" And others may say, "It would be an ill day for all the world and for the pair of them if they did not go on working together and marching together and sailing together and flying

¹⁰⁸⁰Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰⁸¹Ibid., p.768. ¹⁰⁸²Ibid., p.766.

¹⁰⁸³Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰⁸⁴Ibid. ¹⁰⁸⁵Ibid., p.768.

¹⁰⁸⁶Ibid., p.769. ¹⁰⁸⁷Ibid., p.770. ¹⁰⁸⁸Ibid., p.771.

¹⁰⁸⁹Ibid., p.772.

together, whenever something has to be done for the sake of freedom and fair play all over the world. That is the great hope of the future."¹⁰⁹⁰

Irony and satire. Churchill added a little of both irony and satire to his speech; "...the large and increasing number of U-boats with which the enemy bespattered the Atlantic--the survivors or successors of which U-boats are now being collected in British harbours."¹⁰⁹¹ And he commented on the "unlamented departures of Mussolini and Hitler...."¹⁰⁹²

Anaphora and epistrophe. Churchill used anaphora throughout the address; "We were able to breathe; we were able to live; we were able to strike."¹⁰⁹³ Using anaphora he gave Britain's reasons for war; "We did this for honour. We repressed.... We defended.... With the assistance of...we cleared...."¹⁰⁹⁴ He said of the German attack upon Russia; "...without warning, without the slightest provocation...."¹⁰⁹⁵ Churchill used anaphora in giving a warning for the future; "...we must labour that the World Organisation...does not become an idle name, does not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak."¹⁰⁹⁶

Hyperbole. Churchill used hyperbole for exaggerated emphasis on several occasions during the course of his speech; "...this National Government was sustained by Parliament and by the entire British nation at home and by all our fighting men abroad, and by the unswerving co-operation of the Dominions...;"¹⁰⁹⁷ "This Blitz

¹⁰⁹⁰Ibid., p.771. ¹⁰⁹¹Ibid., p.767. ¹⁰⁹²Ibid., p.770.

¹⁰⁹³Ibid., p.768. ¹⁰⁹⁴Ibid., p.769. ¹⁰⁹⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁹⁶Ibid., p.772. ¹⁰⁹⁷Ibid., p.766.

was borne without a word of complaint or the slightest sign of flinching...;"¹⁰⁹⁸ "...the numberless millions of the Russian people...;"¹⁰⁹⁹ "...every year seems to me almost a decade."¹¹⁰⁰

Metonymy and synecdoche. There were a limited number of examples of synecdoche in the address; "...His Majesty's Government never laid a violent hand upon them...;"¹¹⁰¹ "...the British Commonwealth of Nations will walk together in mutual comprehension and forgiveness...;"¹¹⁰² "...Greece will never forget how much we gave...;"¹¹⁰³ "...Hitler...without warning, without the slightest provocation hurled himself on Russia...;"¹¹⁰⁴ "...Japan struck a felen blow at the United States at Pearl Harbour...."¹¹⁰⁵

Acclamation. He made frequent use of acclamation. He said of the defeat of the Luftwaffe; "The name of Air Chief Marshal Lord Dowding will always be linked with this splendid event."¹¹⁰⁶ He used acclamation in speaking of the other British soldiers and villagers and civilians in London; "...a very large number of people—honour to them all—proved that London could 'take it'...;"¹¹⁰⁷ "...Southern Irishmen who hastened to the battle-front to prove their ancient valour...;"¹¹⁰⁸ "I think of Lieutenant-Commander Esmonds, V.C., of Lance-Corporal Kenneally, V.C., and Captain Fegen, V.C., and other Irish heroes whose names I could easily recite...;"¹¹⁰⁹

My friends, when our minds turn to the Northwestern Approaches

¹⁰⁹⁸ <u>Ibid.</u> , p.767.	¹⁰⁹⁹ <u>Ibid.</u> , p.769.	¹¹⁰⁰ <u>Ibid.</u>
¹¹⁰¹ <u>Ibid.</u> , p.767.	¹¹⁰² <u>Ibid.</u>	¹¹⁰³ <u>Ibid.</u> , p.768.
¹¹⁰⁴ <u>Ibid.</u> , p.768.	¹¹⁰⁵ <u>Ibid.</u>	¹¹⁰⁶ <u>Ibid.</u> , p.766.
¹¹⁰⁷ <u>Ibid.</u> , p.767.	¹¹⁰⁸ <u>Ibid.</u>	¹¹⁰⁹ <u>Ibid.</u>

we will not forget the devotion of our merchant seamen, and our mine-sweepers out every night, and so rarely mentioned in the headlines. Nor will we forget the vast, inventive, adaptive, all-embracing, and, in the end, all-controlling power of the Royal Navy, with its ever more potent new ally, the Air.¹¹¹⁰

There were other groups as well that deserved acclamation according to Churchill; "With the assistance of General de Gaulle's indomitable Free French...;"¹¹¹¹ "...the mighty military achievements of the Russian people...;"¹¹¹² "...here is the moment when I pay my personal tribute to the British Chiefs of Staff...;"¹¹¹³ "In Field-Marshal Brooke, in Admiral Pound, succeeded after his death by Admiral Andres Cunningham, and in Marshal of the Air Portal, a team was formed who deserved...honour...."¹¹¹⁴

Epigram. The address contained a few epigrams, some of which were later to become famous; "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few."¹¹¹⁵ He had used this first epigram in an earlier address; however, there was a second one that was original with "Victory Broadcast;" he was speaking of Britain's war contribution; "...how much we gave...of the little we had."¹¹¹⁶

Literary quotation. Churchill made references to both literature and history. His first reference was a combination;

You have no doubt noticed in your reading of British history—and I hope you will take pains to read it, for it is only from the past that one can judge the future, and it is only from reading the story of the British nation, of the British Empire, that you can feel a well-grounded sense of pride to dwell in these islands—you have sometimes noticed in your reading of British history that we have had to hold out from time to time all alone, or to be the mainspring of coalitions, against a Continental tyrant or

¹¹¹⁰ibid., p.768. ¹¹¹¹ibid., p.769. ¹¹¹²ibid., p.770.

¹¹¹³ibid. ¹¹¹⁴ibid., p.771. ¹¹¹⁵ibid., p.766. ¹¹¹⁶ibid., p.768.

dictator, and we have had to hold out for quite a long time; against the Spanish Armada, against the might of Louis XIV, when he led Europe for nearly twenty-five years under William III and Marlborough, and a hundred and fifty years ago, when Nelson, Pitt, and Wellington broke Napoleon, not without assistance from the heroic Russians of 1812. In all these world wars our Island kept the lead of Europe or else held out alone.¹¹¹⁷

His next reference was to literature;

...he sent his recent Presidential opponent, the late Mr. Wendell Willkie, to me with a letter in which he had written in his own hand the famous lines of Longfellow which I quoted in the House of Commons the other day.¹¹¹⁸

This second reference was to Longfellow's "Building the Ship."

Alliteration. There was a rather extensive use of alliteration in "Victory Broadcast;" "...began the Blitz...;"¹¹¹⁹ "...Blitz was borne...;"¹¹²⁰ "...bitterness by Britain...;"¹¹²¹ "Dire deeds...;"¹¹²² "...field force...;"¹¹²³ "...Seine, the Somme...;"¹¹²⁴ "...sinking all Service...;"¹¹²⁵ "...Anglo-American Armies...;"¹¹²⁶ "...forms of flying bombs...;"¹¹²⁷ "...toils and troubles...;"¹¹²⁸ "...weaken in any way...;"¹¹²⁹ "...which we fought for find recognition...;"¹¹³⁰ "...flagging or failing."¹¹³¹

Climax. The Prime Minister made use of climax to close his address;

I told you hard things at the beginning of these last five years; you did not shrink, and I should be unworthy of your confidence and generosity if I did not still cry: "Forward, unflinching, unswerving, indomitable, till the whole task is done and the whole world is safe and clean."¹¹³²

¹¹¹⁷Ibid., p.769. ¹¹¹⁸Ibid., p.768. ¹¹¹⁹Ibid., p.767.

¹¹²⁰Ibid. ¹¹²¹Ibid. ¹¹²²Ibid., p.768. ¹¹²³Ibid.

¹¹²⁴Ibid., p.770. ¹¹²⁵Ibid. ¹¹²⁶Ibid., p.771. ¹¹²⁷Ibid.

¹¹²⁸Ibid., p.772. ¹¹²⁹Ibid. ¹¹³⁰Ibid. ¹¹³¹Ibid.

¹¹³²Ibid., p.773.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I. SUMMARY OF INVENTION

Logos--non-artistic proof

Evidence. Churchill used evidence very frequently in all of the eleven speeches studied and analyzed. Regardless of the length of the individual address there was evidence of either a statistical, historical, or documentary nature present which provided foundation for the rest of his remarks. His first address as Prime Minister was quite short, yet he began it with a factual review of events that had taken place in the formation of the new Cabinet. His "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain," equally brief, also made use of evidence. The "Victory Broadcast" in 1945 showed, as did all of the speeches between it and "Prime Minister," extensive use of evidence.

Authority Authorities were quoted and referred to in all of the addresses, but to varying degrees. For example, in "Prime Minister," Churchill cited several authorities and he followed this policy in "Their Finest Hour," "Put Your Confidence in Us," "Coal and War," "Victory as a Spur," "Call for a Three Power-Palk," and the "Victory Broadcast." However, "Dunkirk," "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain," "Fourth Climacteric," and "Women of Britain" demonstrated use of authority only to a minor degree--though there was some authority in each address.

Sign. The Prime Minister made only limited application of argument from sign in most of the eleven speeches. The greater majority of

these speeches contained one or two arguments from sign at the maximum, and the "Prime Minister" had no argument from sign in it at all. "Their Finest Hour," "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain," "Fourth Climacteric," "Victory as a Spur," and "Women of Britain" depended upon a very restricted amount of argument from sign. However, "Dunkirk," "Put Your Confidence in Us," "Call for a Three-Power Talk," and "Victory Broadcast" all included several illustrations of sign. "Coal and War" made especially extensive use of this type of argument. Approximately six out of the eleven speeches then, advanced only minimal amounts of argument from sign.

Assumption. Churchill stated two assumptions in "Prime Minister." "Put Your Confidence in Us," "Call for a Three-Power Talk," and the "Victory Broadcast," though presenting a few more assumptions, were also restricted in the use of this type of argument. The rest of the speeches contained much greater amounts of assumption, many of them using as many arguments from assumption as arguments from evidence. The amount of assumption in the eleven speeches was, on the whole, extensive.

Logos--artistic proof

Inductive reasoning--argument from generalization. "Prime Minister" comprised negligible amounts of generalization, but "Dunkirk," "Put Your Confidence in Us," "Fourth Climacteric," "Coal and War," "Call for a Three-Power Talk," and the "Victory Broadcast" contained a great number of arguments gathered from generalization. "Their Finest Hour," "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain," "Victory as a Spur," and "Women of Britain" included, in proportion, little more argument

from generalization than was to be found in "Prime Minister." Churchill used argument from generalization in all eleven of his addresses, but, in six of them he used it in larger measure and in the remaining five in lesser amounts.

Inductive reasoning—argument from causation. Churchill utilized many causal relationships in building the proof for his eleven speeches. Each of the addresses contained several causal arguments, and "Put Your Confidence in Us," "Coal and War," "Victory as a Spur," and "Call for a Three-Power Talk" used arguments from causation very extensively all the way through. Argument from causation was present in fairly numerous amounts in all of the addresses and its average use for the eleven speeches would run very high.

Inductive reasoning—argument from analogy. There was no use made of analogy in "Prime Minister," one analogy in "Their Finest Hour," no analogy in "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain," only two analogies in "Fourth Climacteric," no analogy in "Coal and War," two analogies in "Victory as a Spur," no analogy in "Women of Britain," and only two analogies in the "Victory Broadcast." The remaining three speeches included, on an average, usually a maximum of three or four arguments from analogy apiece. Churchill relied to a very small degree, in the eleven war speeches, upon argument from analogy and four of the eleven contained no analogy whatsoever.

Deductive reasoning—argument from syllogism and enthymeme. Churchill employed no syllogisms in their completed form, i.e. categorical or hypothetical. However, he did rely upon the enthymeme as a mode of proof. "Prime Minister" was the only speech which did

not contain argument from syllogism or enthymemes, but there were several arguments from the enthymemes in all of the rest of the addresses.

"Tribute to Neville Chamberlain," "Fourth Climacteric," "Victory as a Spur," "Call for a Three-Power Talk," and "Women of Britain" were more restricted in their usages—generally containing two or three such arguments. The remaining speeches utilized rather larger amounts of enthymematic reasoning.

Ethos

The eleven addresses contained the following ethos building elements: "Prime Minister" demonstrated sincerity, friendliness, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Dunkirk" utilized sincerity, friendliness, sympathy, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Their Finest Hour" contained sincerity, friendliness, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain" used sincerity, friendliness, sympathy, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Put Your Confidence in Us" used simplicity, sincerity, friendliness, sympathy, knowledge of subject and devotion to cause; "The Fourth Climacteric" contained sincerity, friendliness, sympathy, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Coal and War" utilized simplicity, sincerity, friendliness, sympathy, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Victory as a Spur" employed simplicity, sincerity, friendliness, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Call for a Three-Power Talk" used simplicity, sincerity, friendliness, sympathy, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Women of Britain" was built upon sincerity, friendliness, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause; "Victory Broadcast" used

simplicity, sincerity, friendliness, sympathy, knowledge of subject, and devotion to cause.

In building his ethos, the Prime Minister utilized large amounts of sincerity and friendliness and in all eleven speeches he demonstrated both a knowledge of his subject and a devotion to his cause. These four elements appeared over and over again in each of the speeches analyzed and were supplemented by lesser quantities of simplicity and sympathy. In none of the addresses did Churchill demonstrate a patience toward his opponents--the enemy--which, by its absence, might well have contributed an ethos building factor.

Pathos

Of the twelve elements of pathos which were applied to the speeches of Churchill, only one of them was never used and that was envy; all the rest of them were utilized at various times in the several addresses. In order to facilitate the drawing of conclusions from his use of pathos, the pathetic elements of each address were listed separately. "Prime Minister" contained love and friendship, envy and hatred, confidence, and emulation; "Their Finest Hour" demonstrated kindness, love and friendship, confidence, indignation, contempt, and emulation; "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain" was comprised of love and friendship, envy and hatred, confidence, and emulation; "Put Your Confidence in Us" utilized anger, kindness, love and friendship, envy and hatred, confidence, shame, indignation, emulation, and contempt; "The Fourth Climate" used anger, love and friendship, envy and hatred, confidence, indignation, emulation, and contempt; "Coal and War" contained love and friendship, envy and hatred, fear,

confidence, indignation, pity, and emulation; "Victory as a Spur" was comprised of mildness, love and friendship, enmity and hatred, confidence, shame, pity, emulation, and contempt; "Call for a Three-Power Talk" demonstrated mildness, love and friendship, enmity and hatred, confidence, shame, pity, and emulation; "Women of Britain" was composed of love and friendship, enmity and hatred, confidence, and emulation; and the "Victory Broadcast" utilized love and friendship, enmity and hatred, confidence, shame, and emulation.

From this summary were drawn the following conclusions: Churchill used love and friendship and confidence in all of the eleven addresses and he used enmity and hatred and emulation in well over half of them. Mildness, shame, indignation, and contempt were used in approximately four of them and the remaining elements of anger, fear, and pity were only employed occasionally.

II. SUMMARY OF ARRANGEMENT

Three of the eleven speeches, i.e. "Prime Minister," "Tribute to Neville Chamberlain," and the "Victory Broadcast" were built around three of the four elements of arrangement developed in the method of analysis. These three speeches all left out the division of "argument" but contained "proem," "statement," and "epilogue." The remaining eight speeches followed the entire four categories in their construction.

III. SUMMARY OF STYLE

Level. The level of the style in the speeches varied. Six of the speeches studied were elevated or sublime. In the remaining five, "Prime Minister," "Dunkirk," "Their Finest Hour," "Coal and

War," and "Women of Britain" the style level was upper middle or middle. None of the speeches were constructed on the low or plain level. All of the addresses that fell within the middle category concluded in the final paragraph with a rising to the sublime level. However, the over all content of the speech dictated the classification.

Diction and word choice. The diction and word choice throughout the eleven speeches was Anglo-Saxon with only an occasional French, Italian, or German place name. The words, in structure, were about equally distributed between mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic with little or no use of words that might have posed problems to Churchill's listeners in the way of pronunciation or meaning. Quite frequently these words were balanced during the course of a speech between concreteness and abstraction, though sometimes they became very abstract in the closing.

Sentence structure. The greater part of the sentences, in the area of structure, were either simple or complex with large numbers of compound and occasional compound-complex sentences supplementing them.

Rhetorical devices and figurative language

Since it would have been both difficult and of little value to have pointed out the number of times in each speech that a certain figure made its appearance, the conclusions were drawn on the basis of general usage of these figures throughout the eleven speeches. The figures to which Churchill gave the most emphasis were those of imagery, metaphor, irony and satire, metonymy and synecdoche, anaphora and epistrophe, alliteration, acclamation, and climax. Of these figures, imagery—usually visual—and climax were to be found in all eleven of

the speeches. Anaphora and epistrophe were extensively used as were metaphor and simile, alliteration, and acclamation. Irony and satire and metonymy and synecdoche were utilized in most of the speeches but to a lesser degree than the previously cited figures. Churchill employed, on several occasions, interrogation and direct discourse, analogy, hyperbole, and literary or historical reference and quotation. These figures were to be found in approximately fifty percent of the speeches. The figures used only occasionally and least often were those of epithet, personification, contrast, interjection, onomatopoea, and epigram.

Churchill relied more upon imagery than upon any other single figure and he very frequently used it as a climax builder for ending his speeches. For purposes of word rhythm and sound he utilized a great deal of anaphora and epistrophe and alliteration coupled with lesser amounts of onomatopoea. His interrogation, or "communication", involved both the rhetorical question and the direct question; the larger number of interrogative statements were of the rhetorical type. He also used occasional direct discourse but not to the extent that he applied interrogation.

From this entire consideration of the use of rhetorical devices were drawn the conclusions that most of the speeches were built upon the sublime level and most of them contained much figurative expression.

IV. GENERAL SUMMARY

Churchill's eleven speeches taken from the World War (1939-1945) period were built upon the foundations of Invention, Arrangement, and Style. In the area of Invention he strongly emphasized "evidence,"

"authority," "causation," and the "enthymeme" as modes of proof. To build ethos the Prime Minister stressed "sincerity," "friendliness," "knowledge of subject," and "devotion to cause." Pathos was primarily conveyed through the mediums of "love and friendship," "enmity and hatred," and "confidence."

His arrangement divided, generally, into the four areas of "proem," "statement," "argument," and "epilogue," with only occasionally the omission of argument or its inclusion under another of the four divisions.

Style was sublime for the greater part of the speeches and the diction, word choice, and sentence structure were Anglo-Saxon and of such a nature as to be easily understood. Churchill made frequent use of figurative language, especially visual imagery.

Churchill, in these eleven speeches, appeared to have used most extensively those types of rhetorical proofs and devices which were the more strongly recommended by the five rhetoricians.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This thesis dealt with a very small phase of a much larger area of study. The analysis was concerned with only eleven out of the dozens of speeches delivered by Churchill during the Second World War and it made no attempt to include speeches either prior to or after the War. Churchill, in the course of his life, has spoken upon innumerable occasions and upon innumerable topics. This thesis alone broke down the eleven speeches into four areas—international policy, domestic policy, victory, and non-War effort. Using the topic of domestic affairs as an illustration, a study might have been made of Churchill's speeches to political gatherings, another on his

addresses to laboring groups and perhaps a third could have been run on his speeches to student groups. These three suggestions would not, of course, have even begun to exhaust the field under the heading of domestic policy. These might have been further separated into the periods of pre-War, War, and post-War. This was a consideration of only one of the three divisions and a very limited consideration at that. The same type of study could also have been separated and done on his international policy speeches and perhaps these might have been parceled out into addresses on the United States, Russia, the Near East, China, France, and so forth, almost ad infinitum. It became more and more clear that there were literally dozens of practical and intelligent divisions which could have been made in terms of time and place of Churchill's speeches. And more than that, each one of the areas analyzed by this thesis would have supported a great deal of additional and more specialized research.

So far these recommendations have centered around different areas in which additional studies could have been made. It was worth noting that in each one of these many and varied areas there was also the opportunity for variation in the type of study made. For example, any one of the three criteria, Invention, Arrangement, and Style, could have been used alone in an effort to achieve more limited results. The question of style employed by the Prime Minister in any one of the many groupings possessed the potential of sufficiency for a thesis or perhaps a dissertation. The uses of sign, evidence, syllogism, enthymeme, assumption, etc., might all have been important studies in and of themselves. Certainly it was very conceivable, also, that a

different set of criteria might have been arrived at and used and thus have opened up an entirely new field of possibilities.

This selection of eleven speeches was done upon a representative basis in an attempt to examine the several phases of Churchill's War public address. However, an even better view might have been gained from an analysis which included five or six of the speeches in each area instead of or in addition to the one or two which were included here. Coupled with this broader analysis might well have been a comparison of Churchill's addresses to those of other living contemporaries who spoke and moved on the world stage during any one of these same points in time. Another very worthwhile study could have been conducted along the lines of a personality analysis of Churchill as discovered in his public address, and perhaps equally important, the influence of his background upon his speech making.

From the above analysis of possible additional studies the conclusion was drawn that this particular analysis was very limited in scope and the inferences which were drawn were drawn from only a very restricted area. More specific studies and more detailed analyses on the specifics of Winston Churchill and his public address have remained to be done.

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APPENDIX

PRIME MINISTER 1133

On Friday evening last I received His Majesty's Commission to form a new Administration. It was the evident wish and will of Parliament and the nation that this should be conceived on the broadest possible basis and that it should include all Parties, both those who supported the late Government and also the Parties of the Opposition. I have completed the most important part of this task. A War Cabinet has been formed of five Members, representing, with the Opposition Liberals, the unity of the nation. The three Party Leaders have agreed to serve, either in the War Cabinet or in high executive office. The three Fighting Services have been filled. It was necessary that this should be done in one single day, on account of the extreme urgency and rigor of events. A number of other key positions were filled yesterday, and I am submitting a further list to His Majesty tonight. I hope to complete the appointment of the principal Ministers during tomorrow. The appointment of the other Ministers usually takes a little longer, but I trust that, when Parliament meets again, this part of my task will be completed, and that the Administration will be complete in all respects.

I considered it in the public interest to suggest that the House should be summoned to meet today. Mr. Speaker agreed, and took the necessary steps, in accordance with the powers conferred upon him by the Resolution of the House. At the end of the proceedings today, the Adjournment of the House will be proposed until Tuesday, 21st May, with, of course, provision for earlier meeting if need be. The business to be considered during that week will be notified to Members at the earliest opportunity. I now invite the House, by the Resolution which stands in my name, to record its approval of the steps taken and to declare its confidence in the new Government.

To form an Administration of this scale and complexity is a serious undertaking in itself, but it must be remembered that we are in the preliminary stage of one of the greatest battles in history, that we are in action at many points in Norway and in Holland, that we have to be prepared in the Mediterranean, that the air battle is continuous, and that many preparations have to be made here at home. In this crisis I hope I may be pardoned if I do not address the House at any length today. I hope that any of my friends and colleagues, or former colleagues, who are affected by the political reconstruction, will make all allowance for any lack of ceremony with which it has been necessary to act. I

would say to the House, as I said to those who have joined this Government: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears, and sweat."

We have before us an ordeal of the most grievous kind. We have before us many, many long months of struggle and of suffering. You ask, What is our policy? I will say: "It is to wage war, by sea, land and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy." You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory—victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror, victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realized; no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all that the British Empire has stood for; no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move forward towards its goal. But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, "Come, then, let us go forward together with our united strength."

DUNKIRK 1134

From the moment that the French defenses at Sedan and on the Meuse were broken at the end of the second week of May, only a rapid retreat to Amiens and the south could have saved the British and French Armies who had entered Belgium at the appeal of the Belgian King; but this strategic fact was not immediately realized. The French High Command hoped they would be able to close the gap, and the Armies of the north were under their orders. Moreover, a retirement of this kind would have involved almost certainly the destruction of the fine Belgian Army of over 20 divisions and the abandonment of the whole of Belgium. Therefore, when the force and scope of the German penetration were realized and when a new French Generalissimo, General Weygand, assumed command in place of General Gamelin, an effort was made by the French and British Armies in Belgium to keep on holding the right hand of the Belgians and to give their own right hand to a newly created French Army which was to have advanced across the Somme in great strength to grasp it.

However, the German eruption swept like a sharp scythe around the right and rear of the Armies of the north. Eight or nine armored divisions, each of about four hundred armored vehicles of different kinds, but carefully assorted to be complementary and divisible into small self-contained units, cut off all communications between us and the main French Armies. It severed our own communications for food and ammunition, which ran first to Amiens and afterwards through Abbeville, and it shore its way up the coast to Boulogne and Calais, and almost to Dunkirk. Behind this armored and mechanized onslaught came a number of German divisions in lorries, and behind them again there plodded comparatively slowly the dull brute mass of the ordinary German Army and German people, always so ready to be led to the trampling down in other lands of liberties and comforts which they have never known in their own.

I have said this armored scythe-stroke almost reached Dunkirk--almost but not quite. Boulogne and Calais were the scenes of desperate fighting. The Guards defended Boulogne for a while and were then withdrawn by orders from this country. The Rifle Brigade, the 60th Rifles, and the Queen Victoria's Rifles, with a battalion of British tanks and 1,000 Frenchmen, in all about four thousand strong, defended Calais to the last. The British Brigadier was given an hour to surrender. He spurned the offer, and four days of intense street fighting passed before silence reigned over Calais, which marked the end of a memorable resistance. Only 30 unwounded survivors were brought off by the Navy, and we do not know the fate of their comrades. Their sacrifice, however, was not in

vain. At least two armored divisions, which otherwise would have been turned against the British Expeditionary Force, had to be sent to overcome them. They have added another page to the glories of the light divisions, and the time gained enabled the Graveline water lines to be flooded and to be held by the French troops.

Thus it was that the port of Dunkirk was kept open. When it was found impossible for the Armies of the north to reopen their communications to Amiens with the main French Armies, only one choice remained. It seemed, indeed, forlorn. The Belgian, British and French Armies were almost surrounded. Their sole line of retreat was to a single port and to its neighboring beaches. They were pressed on every side by heavy attacks and far outnumbered in the air.

When, a week ago today, I asked the House to fix this afternoon as the occasion for a statement, I feared it would be my hard lot to announce the greatest military disaster in our long history. I thought—and some good judges agreed with me—that perhaps 20,000 or 30,000 men might be re-embarked. But it certainly seemed that the whole of the French First Army and the whole of the British Expeditionary Force north of the Amiens-Abbeville gap would be broken up in the open field or else would have to capitulate for lack of food and ammunition. These were the hard and heavy tidings for which I called upon the House and the nation to prepare themselves a week ago. The whole root and core and brain of the British Army, on which and around which we were to build, and are to build, the great British Armies in the later years of the war, seemed about to perish upon the field or to be led into an ignominious and starving captivity.

That was the prospect a week ago. But another blow which might well have proved final was yet to fall upon us. The King of the Belgians had called upon us to come to his aid. Had not this Ruler and his Government severed themselves from the Allies, who rescued their country from extinction in the late war, and had they not sought refuge in what has proved to be a fatal neutrality, the French and British Armies might well at the outset have saved not only Belgium but perhaps even Poland. Yet at the last moment, when Belgium was already invaded, King Leopold called upon us to come to his aid, and even at the last moment we came. He and his brave, efficient Army, nearly half a million strong, guarded our left flank and thus kept open our only line of retreat to the sea. Suddenly, without prior consultation, with the least possible notice, without the advice of his Ministers and upon his own personal act, he sent a plenipotentiary to the German Command, surrendered his Army, and exposed our whole flank and means of retreat.

I asked the House a week ago to suspend its judgment because the facts were not clear, but I do not feel that any reason now exists why we should not form our own opinions upon this pitiful episode. The surrender of the Belgian Army compelled the British at the shortest notice to cover a flank to the sea more than 30 miles in length. Otherwise all would have been cut off, and all would have shared the fate to which

King Leopold had condemned the finest Army his country had ever formed. So in doing this and in exposing this flank, as anyone who followed the operations on the map will see, contact was lost between the British and two out of the three corps forming the First French Army, who were still farther from the coast than we were, and it seemed impossible that any large number of Allied troops could reach the coast.

The enemy attacked on all sides with great strength and fierceness, and their main power, the power of their far more numerous Air Force, was thrown into the battle or else concentrated upon Dunkirk and the beaches. Pressing in upon the narrow exit, both from the east and from the west, the enemy began to fire with cannon upon the beaches by which alone the shipping could approach or depart. They sowed magnetic mines in the channels and seas; they sent repeated waves of hostile aircraft, sometimes more than a hundred strong in one formation, to cast their bombs upon the single pier that remained, and upon the sand dunes upon which the troops had their eyes for shelter. Their U-boats, one of which was sunk, and their motor launches took their toll of the vast traffic which now began. For four or five days an intense struggle reigned. All their armored divisions—or what was left of them—together with great masses of infantry and artillery, hurled themselves in vain upon the ever-narrowing, ever-contracting appendix within which the British and French Armies fought.

Meanwhile, the Royal Navy, with the willing help of countless merchant seamen, strained every nerve to embark the British and Allied troops; 220 light warships and 650 other vessels were engaged. They had to operate upon the difficult coast, often in adverse weather, under an almost ceaseless hail of bombs and an increasing concentration of artillery fire. Nor were the seas, as I have said, themselves free from mines and torpedoes. It was in conditions such as these that our men carried on, with little or no rest, for days and nights on end, making trip after trip across the dangerous waters, bringing with them always men whom they had rescued. The numbers they have brought back are the measure of their devotion and their courage. The hospital ships, which brought off many thousands of British and French wounded, being so plainly marked were a special target for Nazi bombs; but the men and women on board them never faltered in their duty.

Meanwhile, the Royal Air Force, which had already been intervening in the battle, so far as its range would allow, from home bases, now used part of its main metropolitan fighter strength, and struck at the German bombers and at the fighters which in large numbers protected them. This struggle was protracted and fierce. Suddenly the scene has cleared, the crash and thunder has for the moment—but only for the moment—died away. A miracle of deliverance, achieved by valor, by perseverance, by perfect discipline, by faultless service, by resource, by skill, by unconquerable fidelity, is manifest to us all. The enemy

was hurled back by the retreating British and French troops. He was so roughly handled that he did not hurry their departure seriously. The Royal Air Force engaged the main strength of the German Air Force, and inflicted upon them losses of at least four to one; and the Navy, using nearly 1,000 ships of all kinds, carried over 335,000 men, French and British, out of the jaws of death and shame, to their native land and to the tasks which lie immediately ahead. We must be very careful not to assign to this deliverance the attributes of a victory. Wars are not won by evacuations. But there was a victory inside this deliverance, which should be noted. It was gained by the Air Force. Many of our soldiers coming back have not seen the Air Force at work; they saw only the bombers which escaped its protective attack. They underrate its achievements. I have heard much talk of this; that is why I go out of my way to say this. I will tell you about it.

This was a great trial of strength between the British and German Air Forces. Can you conceive a greater objective for the Germans in the air than to make evacuation from these beaches impossible, and to sink all these ships which were displayed, almost to the extent of thousands? Could there have been an objective of greater military importance and significance for the whole purpose of the war than this? They tried hard, and they were beaten back; they were frustrated in their task. We got the Army away; and they have paid fourfold for any losses which they have inflicted. Very large formations of German aeroplanes—and we know that they are a very brave race—have turned on several occasions from the attack of one-quarter of their number of the Royal Air Force, and have dispersed in different directions. Twelve aeroplanes have been hunted by two. One aeroplane was driven into the water and cast away by the mere charge of a British aeroplane, which had no more ammunition. All of our types—the Hurricane, the Spitfire and the new Defiant—and all our pilots have been vindicated as superior to what they have at present to face.

When we consider how much greater would be our advantage in defending the air above this Island against an overseas attack, I must say that I find in these facts a sure basis upon which practical and reassuring thoughts may rest. I will pay my tribute to these young airmen. The great French Army was very largely, for the time being, cast back and disturbed by the onrush of a few thousands of armored vehicles. May it not also be that the cause of civilization itself will be defended by the skill and devotion of a few thousand airmen? There never has been, I suppose, in all the world, in all the history of war, such an opportunity for youth. The Knights of the Round Table, the Crusaders, all fall back into the past—not only distant but prosaic; these young men, going forth every morn to guard their native land and all that we stand for, holding in their hands these instruments of colossal and shattering power, of whom it may be said that

"Every morn brought forth a noble chance
And every chance brought forth a noble knight,"

deserve our gratitude, as do all of the brave men who, in so many ways and on so many occasions, are ready, and continue ready, to give life and all for their native land.

I return to the Army. In the long series of very fierce battles, now on this front, now on that, fighting on three fronts at once, battles fought by two or three divisions against an equal or somewhat larger number of the enemy, and fought fiercely on some of the old grounds that so many of us knew so well—in these battles our losses in men have exceeded 30,000 killed, wounded and missing. I take occasion to express the sympathy of the House to all who have suffered bereavement or who are still anxious. The President of the Board of Trade is not here today. His son has been killed, and many in the House have felt the pangs of affliction in the sharpest form. But I will say this about the missing: We have had a large number of wounded come home safely to this country, but I would say about the missing that there may be very many reported missing who will come back home, some day, in one way or another. In the confusion of this fight it is inevitable that many have been left in positions where honor required no further resistance from them.

Against this loss of over 30,000 men, we can set a far heavier loss certainly inflicted upon the enemy. But our losses in material are enormous. We have perhaps lost one-third of the men we lost in the opening days of the battle of 21st March, 1918, but we have lost nearly as many guns—nearly one thousand—and all our transport, all the armored vehicles that were with the Army in the north. This loss will impose a further delay on the expansion of our military strength. That expansion had not been proceeding as fast as we had hoped. The best of all we had to give had gone to the British Expeditionary Force, and although they had not the numbers of tanks and some articles of equipment which were desirable, they were a very well and finely equipped Army. They had the first-fruits of all that our industry had to give, and that is gone. And now here is this further delay. How long it will be, how long it will last, depends upon the exertions which we make in this Island. An effort the like of which has never been seen in our records is now being made. Work is proceeding everywhere, night and day, Sundays and week days. Capital and Labor have cast aside their interests, rights, and customs and put them into the common stock. Already the flow of munitions has leaped forward. There is no reason why we should not in a few months overtake the sudden and serious loss that has come upon us, without retarding the development of our general program.

Nevertheless, our thankfulness at the escape of our Army and so many men, whose loved ones have passed through an agonizing week, must not blind us to the fact that what has happened in France and Belgium is a colossal military disaster. The French Army has been weakened,

the Belgian Army has been lost, a large part of those fortified lines upon which so much faith had been reposed is gone, many valuable mining districts and factories have passed into the enemy's possession, the whole of the Channel ports are in his hands, with all the tragic consequences that follow from that, and we must expect another blow to be struck almost immediately at us or at France. We are told that Herr Hitler has a plan for invading the British Isles. This has often been thought of before. When Napoleon lay at Boulogne for a year with his flat-bottomed boats and his Grand Army, he was told by someone, "There are bitter weeds in England." There are certainly a great many more of them since the British Expeditionary Force returned.

The whole question of home defense against invasion is, of course, powerfully affected by the fact that we have for the time being in this Island incomparably more powerful military forces than we have ever had at any moment in this war or the last. But this will not continue. We shall not be content with a defensive war. We have our duty to our Ally. We have to reconstitute and build up the British Expeditionary Force once again, under its gallant Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gort. All this is in train; but in the interval we must put our defenses in this Island into such a high state of organization that the fewest possible numbers will be required to give effective security and that the largest possible potential of offensive effort may be realized. On this we are now engaged. It will be very convenient, if it be the desire of the House, to enter upon this subject in a secret Session. Not that the Government would necessarily be able to reveal in very great detail military secrets, but we like to have our discussions free, without the restraint imposed by the fact that they will be read the next day by the enemy; and the Government would benefit by views freely expressed in all parts of the House by Members with their knowledge of so many different parts of the country. I understand that some request is to be made upon this subject, which will be readily acceded to by His Majesty's Government.

We have found it necessary to take measures of increasing stringency, not only against enemy aliens and suspicious characters of other nationalities, but also against British subjects who may become a danger or a nuisance should the war be transported to the United Kingdom. I know there are a great many people affected by the orders which we have made who are the passionate enemies of Nazi Germany. I am very sorry for them, but we cannot, at the present time and under the present stress, draw all the distinctions which we should like to do. If parachute landings were attempted and fierce fighting attendant upon them followed, these unfortunate people would be far better out of the way, for their own sakes as well as for ours. There is, however, another class, for which I feel not the slightest sympathy. Parliament has given us the powers to put down Fifth Column activities with a strong hand, and we shall use those powers, subject to the supervision and correction of the House, without the slightest hesitation until we are satisfied, and more than satisfied, that this malignancy in our midst has been effectively stamped out.

Turning once again, and this time more generally, to the question of invasion, I would observe that there has never been a period in all these long centuries of which we boast when an absolute guarantee against invasion, still less against serious raids, could have been given to our people. In the days of Napoleon the same wind which would have carried his transports across the Channel might have driven away the blockading fleet. There was always the chance, and it is that chance which has excited and befooled the imaginations of many Continental tyrants. Many are the tales that are told. We are assured that novel methods will be adopted, and when we see the originality of malice, the ingenuity of aggression, which our enemy displays, we may certainly prepare ourselves for every kind of novel stratagem and every kind of brutal and treacherous maneuver. I think that no idea is so outlandish that it should not be considered and viewed with a searching, but at the same time, I hope, with a steady eye. We must never forget the solid assurances of sea power and those which belong to air power if it can be locally exercised.

I have, myself, full confidence that if all do their duty, if nothing is neglected, and if the best arrangements are made, as they are being made, we shall prove ourselves once again able to defend our Island home, to ride out the storm of war, and to outlive the menace of tyranny, if necessary for years, if necessary alone. At any rate, that is what we are going to try to do. That is the resolve of His Majesty's Government—every man of them. That is the will of Parliament and the nation. The British Empire and the French Republic, linked together in their cause and in their need, will defend to the death their native soil, aiding each other like good comrades to the utmost of their strength. Even though large tracts of Europe and many old and famous States have fallen or may fall into the grip of the Gestapo and all the odious apparatus of Nazi rule, we shall not flag or fail. We shall go on to the end, we shall fight in France, we shall fight on the seas and oceans, we shall fight with growing confidence and growing strength in the air, we shall defend our Island, whatever the cost may be, we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender, and even if, which I do not for a moment believe, this Island or a large part of it were subjugated and starving, then our Empire beyond the seas, armed and guarded by the British Fleet, would carry on the struggle, until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and the liberation of the old.

THEIR FINEST HOUR 1135

I spoke the other day of the colossal military disaster which occurred when the French High Command failed to withdraw the northern Armies from Belgium at the moment when they knew that the French front was decisively broken at Sedan and on the Meuse. This delay entailed the loss of fifteen or sixteen French divisions and threw out of action for the critical period the whole of the British Expeditionary Force. Our Army and 120,000 French troops were indeed rescued by the British Navy from Dunkirk but only with the loss of their cannon, vehicles and modern equipment. This loss inevitably took some weeks to repair, and in the first two of those weeks the battle in France has been lost. When we consider the heroic resistance made by the French Army against heavy odds in this battle, the enormous losses inflicted upon the enemy and the evident exhaustion of the enemy, it may well be thought that these 25 divisions of the best-trained and best-equipped troops might have turned the scale. However, General Weygand had to fight without them. Only three British divisions or their equivalent were able to stand in the line with their French comrades. They have suffered severely, but they have fought well. We sent every man we could to France as fast as we could re-equip and transport their formations.

I am not reciting these facts for the purpose of recrimination. That I judge to be utterly futile and even harmful. We cannot afford it. I recite them in order to explain why it was we did not have, as we could have had, between twelve and fourteen British divisions fighting in the line in this great battle instead of only three. Now I put all this aside. I put it on the shelf, from which the historians, when they have time, will select their documents to tell their stories. We have to think of the future and not of the past. This also applies in a small way to our own affairs at home. There are many who would hold an inquest in the House of Commons on the conduct of the Governments—and of Parliaments, for they are in it, too—during the years which led up to this catastrophe. They seek to indict those who were responsible for the guidance of our affairs. This also would be a foolish and pernicious process. There are too many in it. Let each man search his conscience and search his speeches. I frequently search mine.

Of this I am quite sure, that if we open a quarrel between the past and the present, we shall find that we have lost the future. Therefore, I cannot accept the drawing of any distinctions between Members of the present Government. It was formed at a moment of crisis in order to unite all the Parties and all sections of opinion. It has received the almost unanimous support of both Houses of Parliament. Its Members are going to stand together, and, subject to the authority of the House of Commons, we are going to govern the country and fight the war. It is absolutely necessary at a time like this that every

Minister who tries each day to do his duty shall be respected; and their subordinates must know that their chiefs are not threatened men, men who are here today and gone tomorrow, but that their directions must be punctually and faithfully obeyed. Without this concentrated power we cannot face what lies before us. I should not think it would be very advantageous for the House to prolong this Debate this afternoon under conditions of public stress. Many facts are not clear that will be clear in a short time. We are to have a secret Session on Thursday, and I should think that would be a better opportunity for the many earnest expressions of opinion which Members will desire to make and for the House to discuss vital matters without having everything read the next morning by our dangerous foes.

The disastrous military events which have happened during the past fortnight have not come to me with any sense of surprise. Indeed, I indicated a fortnight ago as clearly as I could to the House that the worst possibilities were open; and I made it perfectly clear then that whatever happened in France would make no difference to the resolve of Britain and the British Empire to fight on, "if necessary for years, if necessary along." During the last few days we have successfully brought off the great majority of the troops we had on the line of communication in France; and seven-eighths of the troops we have sent to France since the beginning of the war—that is to say, about 350,000 out of 400,000 men—are safely back in this country. Others are still fighting with the French, and fighting with considerable success in their local encounters against the enemy. We have also brought back a great mass of stores, rifles and munitions of all kinds which had been accumulated in France during the last nine months.

We have, therefore, in this Island today a very large and powerful military force. This force comprises all our best-trained and our finest troops, including scores of thousands of those who have already measured their quality against the Germans and found themselves at no disadvantage. We have under arms at the present time in this Island over a million and a quarter men. Behind these we have the Local Defense Volunteers, numbering half a million, only a portion of whom, however, are yet armed with rifles or other firearms. We have incorporated into our Defense Forces every man for whom we have a weapon. We expect very large additions to our weapons in the near future, and in preparation for this we intend forthwith to call up, drill and train further large numbers. Those who are not called up, or else are employed upon the vast business of munitions production in all its branches—and their ramifications are innumerable—will serve their country best by remaining at their ordinary work until they receive their summons. We have also over here Dominions armies. The Canadians had actually landed in France, but have now been safely withdrawn, much disappointed, but in perfect order, with all their artillery and equipment. And these very high-class forces from the Dominions will now take part in the defense of the Mother Country.

Lest the account which I have given of these large forces should raise the question: Why did they not take part in the great battle in France? I must make it clear that, apart from the divisions training and organising at home, only 12 divisions were equipped to fight upon a scale which justified their being sent abroad. And this was fully up to the number which the French had been led to expect would be available in France at the ninth month of the war. The rest of our forces at home have a fighting value for home defense which will, of course, steadily increase every week that passes. Thus, the invasion of Great Britain would at this time require the transportation across the sea of hostile armies on a very large scale, and after they had been so transported they would have to be continually maintained with all the masses of munitions and supplies which are required for continuous battle—as continuous battle it will surely be.

Here is where we come to the Navy—and after all we have a Navy. Some people seem to forget that we have a Navy. We must remind them. For the last thirty years I have been concerned in discussions about the possibilities of oversea invasion, and I took the responsibility on behalf of the Admiralty, at the beginning of the last war, of allowing all regular troops to be sent out of the country. That was a very serious step to take, because our Territorials had only just been called up and were quite untrained. Therefore, this Island was for several months practically denuded of fighting troops. The Admiralty had confidence at that time in their ability to prevent a mass invasion even though at that time the Germans had a magnificent battle fleet in the proportion of 10 to 16, even though they were capable of fighting a general engagement every day and any day, whereas now they have only a couple of heavy ships worth speaking of—the Scharnhorst and the Gneisenau. We are also told that the Italian Navy is to come out and gain sea superiority in these waters. If they seriously intend it, I shall only say that we shall be delighted to offer Signor Mussolini a free and safeguarded passage through the Straits of Gibraltar in order that he may play the part to which he aspires. There is a general curiosity in the British Fleet to find out whether the Italians are up to the level they were at in the last war or whether they have fallen off at all.

Therefore, it seems to me that as far as sea-borne invasion on a great scale is concerned, we are far more capable of meeting it today than we were at many periods in the last war and during the early months of this war, before our other troops were trained, and while the B.E.F. had proceeded abroad. Now, the Navy have never pretended to be able to prevent raids by bodies of 5,000 or 10,000 men flung suddenly across and thrown ashore at several points on the coast some dark night or foggy morning. The efficacy of sea power, especially under modern conditions, depends upon the invading force being of large size. It has to be of large size, in view of our military strength, to be of any use. If it is of large size, then the Navy have something they can find and meet and, as it were, bite on. Now, we must remember that even five divisions, however lightly equipped, would require 200 to 250 ships, and with modern air reconnaissance and photography it would

not be easy to collect such an armada, marshal it, and conduct it across the sea without any powerful naval forces to escort it; and there would be very great possibilities, to put it mildly, that this armada would be intercepted long before it reached the coast, and all the men drowned in the sea or, at the worst, blown to pieces with their equipment while they were trying to land. We also have a great system of minefields, recently strongly reinforced, through which we alone know the channels. If the enemy tries to sweep passages through these minefields, it will be the task of the Navy to destroy the mine-sweepers and any other forces employed to protect them. There should be no difficulty in this, owing to our great superiority at sea.

These are the regular, well-tested, well-proved arguments on which we have relied during many years in peace and war. But the question is whether there are any new methods by which those solid assurances can be circumvented. Odd as it may seem, some attention has been given to this by the Admiralty, whose prime duty and responsibility it is to destroy any large sea-borne expedition before it reaches, or at the moment when it reaches, these shores. It would not be a good thing for me to go into details of this. It might suggest ideas to other people which they have not thought of, and they would not be likely to give us any of their ideas in exchange. All I will say is that untiring vigilance and mindsearching must be devoted to the subject, because the enemy is crafty and cunning and full of novel treacheries and stratagems. The House may be assured that the utmost ingenuity is being displayed and imagination is being evoked from large numbers of competent officers, well-trained in tactics and thoroughly up to date, to measure and counterwork novel possibilities. Untiring vigilance and untiring searching of the mind is being, and must be, devoted to the subject, because, remember, the enemy is crafty and there is no dirty trick he will not do.

Some people will ask why, then, was it that the British Navy was not able to prevent the movement of a large army from Germany into Norway across the Skagerrak? But the conditions in the Channel and in the North Sea are in no way like those which prevail in the Skagerrak. In the Skagerrak, because of the distance, we could give no air support to our surface ships, and consequently, lying as we did close to the enemy's main air power, we were compelled to use only our submarines. We could not enforce the decisive blockade or interruption which is possible from surface vessels. Our submarines took a heavy toll but could not, by themselves, prevent the invasion of Norway. In the Channel and in the North Sea, on the other hand, our superior naval surface forces, aided by our submarines, will operate with close and effective air assistance.

This brings me, naturally, to the great question of invasion from the air, and of the impending struggle between the British and German Air Forces. It seems quite clear that no invasion on a scale beyond the capacity of our land forces to crush speedily is likely to take place from the air until our Air Force has been definitely overpowered. In

the meantime, there may be raids by parachute troops and attempted descents of airborne soldiers. We should be able to give those gentry a warm reception, both in the air and on the ground, if they reach it in any condition to continue the dispute. But the great question is: Can we break Hitler's air weapon? Now, of course, it is a very great pity that we have not got an Air Force at least equal to that of the most powerful enemy within striking distance of these shores. But we have a very powerful Air Force which has proved itself far superior in quality, both in men and in many types of machine, to what we have met so far in the numerous and fierce air battles which have been fought with the Germans. In France, where we were at a considerable disadvantage and lost many machines on the ground when they were standing round the aerodromes, we were accustomed to inflict in the air losses of as much as two to two-and-a-half to one. In the fighting over Dunkirk, which was a sort of no-man's-land, we undoubtedly beat the German Air Force, and gained the mastery of the local air, inflicting here a loss of three or four to one day after day. Anyone who looks at the photographs which were published a week or so ago of the re-embarkation, showing the masses of troops assembled on the beach and forming an ideal target for hours at a time, must realize that this re-embarkation would not have been possible unless the enemy had resigned all hope of recovering air superiority at that time and at that place.

In the defense of this Island the advantages to the defenders will be much greater than they were in the fighting around Dunkirk. We hope to improve on the rate of three or four to one which was realized at Dunkirk; and in addition all our injured machines and their crews which get down safely—and, suprisingly, a very great many injured machines and men do get down safely in modern air fighting—all of these will fall, in an attack upon these Islands, on friendly soil and live to fight another day; whereas all the injured enemy machines and their complements will be total losses as far as the war is concerned.

During the great battle in France, we gave very powerful and continuous aid to the French Army, both by fighters and bombers; but in spite of every kind of pressure we never would allow the entire metropolitan fighter strength of the Air Force to be consumed. This decision was painful, but it was also right, because the fortunes of the battle in France could not have been decisively affected even if we had thrown in our entire fighter force. That battle was lost by the unfortunate strategical opening, by the extraordinary and unforeseen power of the armored columns, and by the great preponderance of the German Army in numbers. Our fighter Air Force might easily have been exhausted as a mere accident in that great struggle, and then we should have found ourselves at the present time in a very serious plight. But as it is, I am happy to inform the House that our fighter strength is stronger at the present time relatively to the Germans, who have suffered terrible losses, than it has ever been; and consequently we believe ourselves possessed of the capacity to continue the war in the air under better conditions than we have ever experienced before. I look forward confidently to the exploits of our fighter pilots—these

splendid men, this brilliant youth—who will have the glory of saving their native land, their island home, and all they love, from the most deadly of all attacks.

There remains, of course, the danger of bombing attacks, which will certainly be made very soon upon us by the bomber forces of the enemy. It is true that the German bomber force is superior in numbers to ours; but we have a very large bomber force also, which we shall use to strike at military targets in Germany without intermission. I do not at all underrate the severity of the ordeal which lies before us; but I believe our countrymen will show themselves capable of standing up to it, like the brave men of Barcelona, and will be able to stand up to it, and carry on in spite of it, at least as well as any other people in the world. Much will depend upon this; every man and every woman will have the chance to show the finest qualities of their race, and render the highest service to their cause. For all of us, at this time, whatever our sphere, our station, our occupation or our duties, it will be a help to remember the famous lines:

"Be nothing common did or mean,
Upon that memorable scene."

I have thought it right upon this occasion to give the House and the country some indication of the solid, practical grounds upon which we base our inflexible resolve to continue the war. There are a good many people who say, "Never mind. Win or lose, sink or swim, better die than submit to tyranny—and such a tyranny." And I do not dissociate myself from them. But I can assure them that our professional advisers of the three Services unitedly advise that we should carry on the war, and that there are good and reasonable hopes of final victory. We have fully informed and consulted all the self-governing Dominions, these great communities far beyond the oceans who have been built up on our laws and on our civilization, and who are absolutely free to choose their course, but are absolutely devoted to the ancient Motherland, and who feel themselves inspired by the same emotions which lead me to stake our all upon duty and honor. We have fully consulted them, and I have received from their Prime Ministers, Mr. Mackenzie King of Canada, Mr. Menzies of Australia, Mr. Fraser of New Zealand, and General Smuts of South Africa—that wonderful man, with his immense profound mind, and his eye watching from a distance the whole panorama of European affairs—I have received from all these eminent men, who all have Governments behind them elected on wide franchises, who are all there because they represent the will of their people, messages couched in the most moving terms in which they endorse our decision to fight on, and declare themselves ready to share our fortunes and to persevere to the end. That is what we are going to do.

We may now ask ourselves: In what way has our position worsened since the beginning of the war? It has worsened by the fact that the Germans have conquered a large part of the coast line of Western Europe, and many small countries have been overrun by them. This aggravates the possibilities of air attack and adds to our naval

preoccupations. It in no way diminishes, but on the contrary definitely increases, the power of our long-distance blockade. Similarly, the entrance of Italy into the war increases the power of our long-distance blockade. We have stopped the worst leak by that. We do not know whether military resistance will come to an end in France or not, but should it do so, then of course the Germans will be able to concentrate their forces, both military and industrial, upon us. But for the reasons I have given to the House these will not be found so easy to apply. If invasion has become more imminent, as no doubt it has, we, being relieved from the task of maintaining a large army in France, have far larger and more efficient forces to meet it.

If Hitler can bring under his despotic control the industries of the countries he has conquered, this will add greatly to his already vast armament output. On the other hand, this will not happen immediately, and we are now assured of immense, continuous and increasing support in supplies and munitions of all kinds from the United States; and especially of aeroplanes and pilots from the Dominions and across the oceans, coming from regions which are beyond the reach of enemy bombers.

I do not see how any of these factors can operate to our detriment on balance before the winter comes; and the winter will impose a strain upon the Nazi regime, with almost all Europe writhing and starving under its cruel heel, which, for all their ruthlessness, will run them very hard. We must not forget that from the moment when we declared war on the 3rd September it was always possible for Germany to turn all her Air Force upon this country, together with any other devices of invasion she might conceive, and that France could have done little or nothing to prevent her doing so. We have, therefore, lived under this danger, in principle and in a slightly modified form, during all these months. In the meanwhile, however, we have enormously improved our methods of defense, and we have learned what we had no right to assume at the beginning, namely, that the individual aircraft and the individual British pilot have a sure and definite superiority. Therefore, in casting up this dread balance-sheet and contemplating our dangers with a disillusioned eye, I see great reason for intense vigilance and exertion, but none whatever for panic or despair.

During the first four years of the last war the Allies experienced nothing but disaster and disappointment. That was our constant fear; one blow after another, terrible losses, frightful dangers. Everything miscarried. And yet at the end of those four years the morale of the Allies was higher than that of the Germans, who had moved from one aggressive triumph to another, and who stood everywhere triumphant invaders of the lands into which they had broken. During that war we repeatedly asked ourselves the question: How are we going to win? and no one was able ever to answer it with much precision, until at the end, quite suddenly, quite unexpectedly, our terrible foe collapsed before us, and we were so glutted with victory that in our folly we threw it away.

We do not yet know what will happen in France or whether the French resistance will be prolonged, both in France and in the French Empire overseas. The French Government will be throwing away great opportunities and casting adrift their future if they do not continue the war in accordance with their Treaty obligations, from which we have not felt able to release them. The House will have read the historic declaration in which, at the desire of many Frenchmen—and of our own hearts—we have proclaimed our willingness at the darkest hour in French history to conclude a union of common citizenship in this struggle. However matters may go in France or with the French Government, or other French Governments, we in this Island and in the British Empire will never lose our sense of comradeship with the French people. If we are now called upon to endure what they have been suffering, we shall emulate their courage, and if final victory rewards our toils they shall share the gains, aye, and freedom shall be restored to all. We abate nothing of our just demands; not one jot or tittle do we recede. Czechs, Poles, Norwegians, Dutch, Belgians have joined their causes to our own. All these shall be restored.

What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect that the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institutions and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this Island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will still say, "This was their finest hour."

TRIBUTE TO NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN 1136

Since we last met, the House has suffered a very grievous loss in the death of one of its most distinguished Members, and of a statesman and public servant who, during the best part of three memorable years, was first Minister of the Crown.

The fierce and bitter controversies which hang around him in recent times were hushed by the news of his illness and are silenced by his death. In paying a tribute of respect and of regard to an eminent man who has been taken from us, no one is obliged to alter the opinions which he has formed or expressed upon issues which have become a part of history; but at the Lythgate we may all pass our own conduct and our own judgments under a searching review. It is not given to human beings, happily for them, for otherwise life would be intolerable, to foresee or to predict to any large extent the unfolding course of events. In one phase men seem to have been right, in another they seem to have been wrong. Then again, a few years later, when the perspective of time has lengthened, all stands in a different setting. There is a new proportion. There is another scale of values. History with its flickering lamp stumbles along the trail of the past, trying to reconstruct its scenes, to revive its echoes, and kindle with pale gleams the passion of former days. What is the worth of all this? The only guide to a man is his conscience; the only shield to his memory is the rectitude and sincerity of his actions. It is very imprudent to walk through life without this shield, because we are so often mocked by the failure of our hopes and the upsetting of our calculations; but with this shield, however the fates may play, we march always in the ranks of honour.

It fell to Neville Chamberlain in one of the supreme crises of the world to be contradicted by events, to be disappointed in his hopes, and to be deceived and cheated by a wicked man. But what were these hopes in which he was disappointed? What were these wishes in which he was frustrated? What was that faith that was abused? They were surely among the most noble and benevolent instincts of the human heart---the love of peace, the toil for peace, the strife for peace, the pursuit of peace, even at great peril, and certainly to the utter disdain of popularity or clamour. Whatever else history may or may not say about these terrible, tremendous years, we can be sure that Neville Chamberlain acted with perfect sincerity according to his lights and strove to the utmost of his capacity and authority, which were powerful, to save the world from the awful, devastating struggle in which we are now engaged. This alone will stand him in good stead as far as what is called the verdict of history is concerned.

But it is also a help to our country and to our whole Empire, and to our decent faithful way of living that, however long the struggle may last, or however dark may be the clouds which overhang our path,

1136Churchill, The Unrelenting Struggle, p.3.

no future generation of English-speaking folks—for that is the tribunal to which we appeal—will doubt that, even at a great cost to ourselves in technical preparation, we were guiltless of the bloodshed, terror and misery which have engulfed so many lands and peoples, and yet seek new victims still. Herr Hitler protests with frantic words and gestures that he has only desired peace. What do these ravings and outpourings count before the silence of Neville Chamberlain's tomb? Long, hard, and hazardous years lie before us, but at least we entered upon them united and with clean hearts.

I do not propose to give an appreciation of Neville Chamberlain's life and character, but there were certain qualities always admired in these Islands which he possessed in an altogether exceptional degree. He had a physical and moral toughness of fibre which enabled him all through his varied career to endure misfortune and disappointment without being unduly discouraged or worried. He had a precision of mind and an aptitude for business which raised him far above the ordinary levels of our generation. He had a firmness of spirit which was not often elated by success, seldom downcast by failure, and never stayed by panic. When, contrary to all his hopes, beliefs and exertions, the war came upon him, and when, as he himself said, all that he had worked for was shattered, there was no man more resolved to pursue the unsought quarrel to the death. The same qualities which made him one of the last to enter the war, made him one of the last who would quit it before the full victory of a righteous cause was won.

I had the singular experience of passing in a day from being one of his most prominent opponents and critics to being one of his principal lieutenants, and on another day of passing from serving under him to become the head of a Government of which, with perfect loyalty, he was content to be a member. Such relationships are unusual in our public life. I have before told the House how on the morrow of the Debate which in the early days of May challenged his position, he declared to me and a few other friends that only a National Government could face the storm about to break upon us, and that if he were an obstacle to the formation of such a Government, he would instantly retire. Thereafter, he acted with that singleness of purpose and simplicity of conduct which at all times, and especially in great times, ought to be the ideal of us all.

When he returned to duty a few weeks after a most severe operation, the bombardment of London and of the seat of Government had begun. I was a witness during that fortnight of his fortitude under the most grievous and painful bodily afflictions, and I can testify that, although physically only the wreck of a man, his nerve was unshaken and his remarkable mental faculties unimpaired.

After he left the Government he refused all honours. He would die like his father, plain Mr. Chamberlain. I sought permission of the King, however, to have him supplied with the Cabinet papers, and until a few days of his death he followed our affairs with keenness, interest and

tenacity. He met the approach of death with a steady eye. If he grieved at all, it was that he could not be a spectator of our victory; but I think he died with the comfort of knowing that his country had, at least, turned the corner.

At this time our thoughts must pass to the gracious and charming lady who shared his days of triumph and adversity with a courage and quality the equal of his own. He was, like his father and his brother Austen before him, a famous Member of the House of Commons, and we here assembled this morning, Members of all parties, without a single exception, feel that we do ourselves and our country honour in saluting the memory of one whom Disraeli would have called an "English worthy."

PUT YOUR CONFIDENCE IN US ¹¹³⁷

Five months have passed since I spoke to the British nation and the Empire on the broadcast. In wartime there is a lot to be said for the motto, "Deeds, not words." All the same, it is a good thing to look around from time to time and take stock, and certainly our affairs have prospered in several directions during these last four or five months, far better than most of us would have ventured to hope.

We stood our ground and faced the two Dictators in the hour of what seemed their overwhelming triumph, and we have shown ourselves capable, so far, of standing up against them alone. After the heavy defeats of the German air force by our fighters in August and September, Herr Hitler did not dare attempt the invasion of this Island, although he had every need to do so and although he had made vast preparations. Baffled in this mighty project, he sought to break the spirit of the British nation by the bombing, first of London, and afterwards of our great cities. It has now been proved, to the admiration of the world, and of our friends in the United States, that this form of blackmail by murder and terrorism, so far from weakening the spirit of the British nation, has only roused it to a more intense and universal flame than was ever seen before in any modern community.

The whole British Empire has been proud of the Mother Country, and they long to be with us over here in even larger numbers. We have been deeply conscious of the love for us which has flowed from the Dominions of the Crown across the broad ocean spaces. There is the first of our war aims; to be worthy of that love, and to preserve it.

All through these dark winter months the enemy has had the power to drop three or four tons of bombs upon us for every ton we could send to Germany in return. We are arranging so that presently this will be rather the other way round; but, meanwhile, London and our big cities have had to stand their pounding. They remind me of the British squares at Waterloo. They are not squares of soldiers; they do not wear scarlet coats. They are just ordinary English, Scottish and Welsh folk—men, women and children—standing steadfastly together. But their spirit is the same, their glory is the same; and, in the end, their victory will be greater than far-famed Waterloo.

All honor to the Civil Defense Services of all kinds—emergency and regular, volunteer and professional—who have helped our people through this formidable ordeal, the like of which no civilized community has ever been called upon to undergo. If I mention only one of these services here, namely the Police, it is because many tributes have been paid already to the others. But the Police have been in it everywhere, all the time, and as a working woman wrote to me; "What gentlemen

¹¹³⁷Churchill, Blood, Sweat, and Tears, p.453.

they are!"

More than two-thirds of the winter has now gone, and so far we have had no serious epidemic; indeed, there is no increase of illness in spite of the improvised conditions of the shelters. That is most creditable to our local, medical and sanitary authorities, to our devoted nursing staff, and to the Ministry of Health, whose head, Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, is now going to Canada in the important office of High Commissioner.

There is another thing which surprised me when I asked about it. In spite of all these new war-time offenses and prosecutions of all kinds; in spite of all the opportunities for looting and disorder, there has been less crime this winter and there are now fewer prisoners in our jails than in the years of peace.

We have broken the back of the winter. The daylight grows. The Royal Air Force grows, and is already certainly master of the daylight air. The attacks may be sharper, but they will be shorter; there will be more opportunities for work and service of all kinds; more opportunities for life. So, if our first victory was the repulse of the invader, our second was the frustration of his acts of terror and torture against our people at home.

Meanwhile, abroad, in October, a wonderful thing happened. One of the two Dictators--the crafty, cold-blooded, blackhearted Italian, who had thought to gain an Empire on the cheap by stabbing fallen France in the back--got into trouble. Without the slightest provocation, spurred on by lust of power and brutish greed, Mussolini attacked and invaded Greece, only to be hurled back ignominiously by the heroic Greek Army; who, I will say, with your consent, have revived before our eyes the glories which from the classic age, gild their native land. While Signor Mussolini was writhing and smarting under the Greek lash in Albania, Generals Wavell and Wilson, who were charged with the defense of Egypt and of the Suez Canal in accordance with our treaty obligations, whose task seemed at one time so difficult, had received very powerful reinforcements of men, cannon, equipment and, above all, tanks, which we had sent from our Island in spite of the invasion threat. Large numbers of troops from India, Australia and New Zealand had also reached them. Forthwith began that series of victories in Libya which have broken irretrievably the Italian military power on the African Continent. We have all been entertained, and I trust edified, by the exposure and humiliation of another of what Byron called

"Those Pagod things of sabre sway
With fronts of brass and feet of clay."

Here then, in Libya, is the third considerable event upon which we may dwell with some satisfaction. It is just exactly two months ago, to a day, that I was waiting anxiously, but also eagerly, for the news of the great counter-stroke which had been planned against the Italian invaders of Egypt. The secret had been well kept. The

preparations had been well made. But to leap across those seventy miles of desert, and attack an army of ten or eleven divisions, equipped with all the appliances of modern war, who had been fortifying themselves for three months—that was a most hazardous adventure.

When the brilliant decisive victory at Sidi Barrani, with its tens of thousands of prisoners, proved that we had quality, maneuvering power and weapons superior to the enemy, who had boasted so much of his virility and his military virtues, it was evident that all the other Italian forces in eastern Libya were in great danger. They could not easily beat a retreat along the coastal road without running the risk of being caught in the open by our armored divisions and brigades ranging far out into the desert in tremendous swoops and scoops. They had to expose themselves to being attacked piecemeal.

General Wavell—nay, all our leaders, and all their lithe, active, ardent men, British, Australian, Indian, in the Imperial Army—saw their opportunity. At that time I ventured to draw General Wavell's attention to the seventh chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, at the seventh verse, where, as you all know—or ought to know—it is written: "Ask, and it shall be given; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." The Army of the Nile has asked, and it has been given; they sought, and they have found; they knocked, and it has been opened unto them. In barely eight weeks, by a campaign which will long be studied as a model of the military art, an advance of over 400 miles has been made. The whole Italian Army in the east of Libya, which was reputed to exceed 150,000 men, has been captured or destroyed. The entire province of Cyrenaica—nearly as big as England and Wales—has been conquered. The unhappy Arab tribes, who have for thirty years suffered from the cruelty of Italian rule, carried in some cases to the point of methodical extermination, these Bedouin survivors have at last seen their oppressors in disorderly flight, or led off in endless droves as prisoners of war.

Egypt and the Suez Canal are safe, and the port, the base and the airfields of Benghazi constitute a strategic point of high consequence to the whole of the war in the Eastern Mediterranean.

This is the time, I think, to speak of the leaders who, at the head of their brave troops, have rendered this distinguished service to the King. The first and foremost, General Wavell, Commander-in-Chief of all the Armies of the Middle East, has proved himself a master of war, sage, painstaking, daring and tireless. But General Wavell has repeatedly asked that others should share his fame.

General Wilson, who actually commands the Army of the Nile, was reputed to be one of our finest tacticians—and few will now deny that quality. General O'Connor, commanding the 13th Corps, with General Mackay, commanding the splendid Australians, and General Creagh, who trained and commanded the various armored divisions which were employed—these three men executed the complicated and astoundingly rapid movements which were made, and fought the actions which occurred.

I have just seen a telegram from General Wavell in which he says that the success at Benghazi was due to the outstanding leadership and resolution of O'Connor and Creagh, ably backed by Wilson.

I must not forget here to point out the amazing mechanical feats of the British tanks, whose design and workmanship have beaten all records and stood up to all trials; and show us how closely and directly the work in the factories at home is linked with the victories abroad.

Of course, none of our plans would have succeeded had not our pilots, under Air Chief Marshal Longmore, wrested the control of the air from a far more numerous enemy. Nor would the campaign itself have been possible if the British Mediterranean Fleet, under Admiral Cunningham, had not chased the Italian Navy into its harbors and sustained every forward surge of the Army with all the flexible resources of sea power. How far-reaching these resources are we can see from what happened at dawn this morning, when our Western Mediterranean Fleet, under Admiral Somerville, entered the Gulf of Genoa and bombarded in a shattering manner the naval base from which perhaps a Nazi German expedition might soon have sailed to attack General Weygand in Algeria or Tunis. It is right that the Italian people should be made to feel the sorry plight into which have been dragged by Dictator Mussolini; and if the cannonade of Genoa, rolling along the coast, reverberating in the mountains, reached the ears of our French comrades in their grief and misery, it might cheer them with the feeling that friends—active friends—are near and that Britannia rules the waves.

The events in Libya are only part of the story; they are only part of the story of the decline and fall of the Italian Empire, that will not take a future Gibbon so long to write as the original work. Fifteen hundred miles away to the southward a strong British and Indian army, having driven the invaders out of the Sudan, is marching steadily forward through the Italian Colony of Eritrea, thus seeking to complete the isolation of all the Italian troops in Abyssinia. Other British forces are entering Abyssinia from the west, while the army gathered in Kenya—in the van of which we may discern the powerful forces of the Union of South Africa, organized by General Smuts—is striking northward along the whole enormous front. Lastly, the Ethiopian patriots, whose independence was stolen five years ago, have risen in arms; and their Emperor, so recently an exile in England, is in their midst to fight for their freedom and his throne. Here, then, we see the beginnings of a process of reparation, and of the chastisement of wrongdoing, which reminds us that, though the mills of God grind slowly, they grind exceeding small.

While these auspicious events have been carrying us stride by stride from what many people thought a forlorn position, and was certainly a very grave position in May and June, to one which permits us to speak with sober confidence of our power to discharge our duty,

heavy though it be in the future—while this has been happening, a mighty tide of sympathy, of good will and of effective aid, has begun to flow across the Atlantic in support of the world cause which is at stake. Distinguished Americans have come over to see things here at the front, and to find out how the United States can help us best and soonest. In Mr. Hopkins, who has been my frequent companion during the last three weeks, we have the Envoy of the President, a President who has been newly re-elected to his august office. In Mr. Wendell Willkie we have welcomed the champion of the great Republican Party. We may be sure that they will both tell the truth about what they have seen over here, and more than that we do not ask. The rest we leave with good confidence to the judgment of the President, the Congress and the people of the United States.

I have been so very careful, since I have been Prime Minister, not to encourage false hopes or prophesy smooth and easy things, and yet the tale that I have to tell today is one which must justify and rightly give us cause for deep thankfulness, and also, I think, for strong comfort and even rejoicing. But now I must dwell upon the more serious, darker and more dangerous aspects of the vast scene of the war. We must all of us have been asking ourselves: What has that wicked man whose crime-stained regime and system are at bay and in the toils—that has he been preparing during these winter months? What new devilry is he planning? What new small country will he overrun or strike down? What fresh form of assault will he make upon our island home and fortress, which—let there be no mistake about it—is all that stands between him and the dominion of the world?

We may be sure that the war is soon going to enter upon a phase of greater violence. Hitler's confederate, Mussolini, has reeled back in Albania; but the Nazis—having absorbed Hungary and driven Rumania into a frightful internal convulsion—are now already upon the Black Sea. A considerable Nazi German army and air force is being built up in Rumania, and its forward tentacles have already penetrated Bulgaria. With—we must suppose—the acquiescence of the Bulgarian Government, airfields are being occupied by German ground personnel numbering thousands, so as to enable the German air force to come into action from Bulgaria. Many preparations have been made for the movement of German troops into or through Bulgaria, and perhaps this southward movement has already begun.

We saw what happened last May in the Low Countries; how they hoped for the best; how they clung to their neutrality; how woefully they were deceived, overwhelmed, plundered, enslaved and since starved. We know how we and the French suffered when, at the last moment, at the urgent belated appeal of the King of the Belgians, we went to his aid. Of course, if all the Balkan people stood together and acted together, aided by Britain and Turkey, it would be many months before a German army and air force of sufficient strength to overcome them could be assembled in the southeast of Europe. And in those months much might happen. Much will certainly happen as American aid becomes

effective, as our air power grows, as we become a well-armed nation, and as our armies in the East increase in strength. But nothing is more certain than that, if the countries of southeastern Europe allow themselves to be pulled to pieces one by one, they will share the fate of Denmark, Holland and Belgium. And none can tell how long it will be before the hour of their deliverance strikes.

One of our difficulties is to convince some of these neutral countries in Europe that we are going to win. We think it astonishing that they should be so dense as not to see it as clearly as we do ourselves. I remember in the last war, in July, 1915, we began to think that Bulgaria was going wrong, so Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Bonar Law, Sir F.E. Smith and I asked the Bulgarian Minister to dinner to explain to him what a fool King Ferdinand would make of himself if he were to go in on the losing side. It was no use. The poor man simply could not believe it, or could not make his Government believe it. So Bulgaria, against the wishes of her peasant population, against all her interests, fell in at the Kaiser's tail and got sadly carved up and punished when the victory was won. I trust that Bulgaria is not going to make the same mistake again. If they do, the Bulgarian peasantry and people, for whom there has been much regard, both in Great Britain and in the United States, will for the third time in thirty years have been made to embark upon a needless and disastrous war.

In the Central Mediterranean the Italian Quisling, who is called Mussolini, and the French Quisling, commonly called Laval, are both in their different ways trying to make their countries into doormats for Hitler and his New Order, in the hope of being able to keep, or get the Nazi Gestapo and Prussian bayonets to enforce, their rule upon their fellow countrymen. I cannot tell how the matter will go, but at any rate we shall do our best to fight for the Central Mediterranean.

I dare say you will have noticed the very significant air action which was fought over Malta a fortnight ago. The Germans sent an entire Geschwader of dive-bombers to Sicily. They seriously injured our new aircraft-carrier Illustrious, and then, as this wounded ship was sheltering in Malta harbor, they concentrated upon her all their force so as to beat her to pieces. But they were met by the batteries of Malta, which is one of the strongest defended fortresses in the world against air attack; they were met by the Fleet Air Arm and by the Royal Air Force, and, in two or three days, they had lost, out of a hundred and fifty dive-bombers, upwards of ninety, fifty of which were destroyed in the air and forty on the ground. Although the Illustrious, in her damaged condition, was one of the great prizes of the air and naval war, the German Geschwader accepted the defeat; they would not come any more. All the necessary repairs were made to the Illustrious in Malta harbor, and she steamed safely off to Alexandria under her own power at 23 knots. I dwell upon this incident, not at all because I think it disposes of the danger in the Central Mediterranean,

but in order to show you that there, as elsewhere, we intend to give a good account of ourselves.

But after all, the fate of this war is going to be settled by what happens on the oceans, in the air, and—above all—in this Island. It seems now to be certain that the Government and the people of the United States intend to supply us with all that is necessary for victory. In the last war the United States sent two million men across the Atlantic. But this is not a war of vast armies, firing immense masses of shells at one another. We do not need the gallant armies which are forming throughout the American Union. We do not need them this year, nor next year; nor any year that I can foresee. But we do need most urgently an immense and continuous supply of war materials and technical apparatus of all kinds. We need them here and we need to bring them here. We shall need a great mass of shipping in 1942, far more than we can build ourselves, if we are to maintain and augment our war effort in the West and in the East.

These facts are, of course, all well known to the enemy, and we must therefore expect that Herr Hitler will do his utmost to prey upon our shipping and to reduce the volume of American supplies entering these Islands. Having conquered France and Norway, his clutching fingers reach out on both sides of us into the ocean. I have never underrated this danger, and you know I have never concealed it from you. Therefore, I hope you will believe me when I say that I have complete confidence in the Royal Navy, aided by the Air Force of the Coastal Command, and that in one way or another I am sure they will be able to meet every changing phase of this truly mortal struggle, and that sustained by the courage of our merchant seamen, and of the dockers and workmen of all our ports, we shall outwit, outmaneuver, outfought and outlast the worst that the enemy's malice and ingenuity can contrive.

I have left the greatest issue to the end. You will have seen that Sir John Dill, our principal military adviser, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, has warned us all that Hitler may be forced, by the strategic, economic and political stresses in Europe, to try to invade these Islands in the near future. That is a warning which no one should disregard. Naturally, we are working night and day to have everything ready. Of course, we are far stronger than we ever were before, incomparably stronger than we were in July, August and September. Our Navy is more powerful, our flotillas are more numerous; we are far stronger, actually and relatively, in the air above these Islands, than we were when our Fighter Command beat off and beat down the Nazi attack last autumn. Our Army is more numerous, more mobile and far better equipped and trained than in September, and still more than in July.

I have the greatest confidence in our Commander-in-Chief, General Brooke, and in the generals of proved ability who, under him, guard the different quarters of our land. But most of all I put my faith

in the simple unaffected resolve to conquer or die which will animate and inspire nearly four million Britons with serviceable weapons in their hands. It is not an easy military operation to invade an island like Great Britain, without the command of the sea and without the command of the air, and then to face what will be waiting for the invader here. But I must drop one word of caution; for, next to cowardice and treachery, overconfidence, leading to neglect or slothfulness, is the worst of martial crimes. Therefore, I drop one word of caution. A Nazi invasion of Great Britain last autumn would have been a more or less improvised affair. Hitler took it for granted that when France gave in we should give in; but we did not give in. And he had to think again. An invasion now will be supported by a much more carefully prepared tackle and equipment of landing craft and other apparatus, all of which will have been planned and manufactured in the winter months. We must all be prepared to meet gas attacks, parachute attacks, and glider attacks, with constancy, forethought and practiced skill.

I must again emphasize what General Dill has said, and what I pointed out myself last year. In order to win the war Hitler must destroy Great Britain. He may carry havoc into the Balkan States; he may tear great provinces out of Russia; he may march to the Caspian; he may march to the gates of India. All this will avail him nothing. It may spread his curse more widely throughout Europe and Asia, but it will not avert his doom. With every month that passes the many proud and once happy countries he is now holding down by brute force and vile intrigue are learning to hate the Prussian yoke and the Nazi name as nothing has ever been hated so fiercely and so widely among men before. And all the time, masters of the sea and air, the British Empire—nay, in a certain sense, the whole English-speaking world—will be on his track, bearing with them the swords of justice.

The other day, President Roosevelt gave his opponent in the late Presidential Election a letter of introduction to me, and in it he wrote out a verse, in his own handwriting, from Longfellow, which he said, "applies to you people as it does to us." Here is the verse:

...Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

What is the answer that I shall give, in your name, to this great man, the thrice-chosen head of a nation of a hundred and thirty millions? Here is the answer which I will give to President Roosevelt: Put your confidence in us. Give us your faith and your blessing, and under Providence, all will be well.

We shall not fail or falter; we shall not weaken or tire. Neither the sudden shock of battle, nor the long-drawn trials of vigilance

and exertion will wear us down. Give us the tools, and we will finish the job.

1139
THE FOURTH CLIMACTERIC 1138

I have taken occasion to speak to you to-night because we have reached one of the climacterics of the war. The first of these intense turning-points was a year ago when France fell prostrate under the German hammer, and when we had to face the storm alone. The second was when the Royal Air Force beat the Hun raiders out of the daylight air, and thus warded off the Nazi invasion of our island while we were still ill-armed and ill-prepared. The third turning-point was when the President and Congress of the United States passed the Lease-and-Lend enactment, devoting nearly 2,000 millions sterling of the wealth of the New World to help us to defend our liberties and their own. Those were the three climacteric. The fourth is now upon us.

At four o'clock this morning Hitler attacked and invaded Russia. All his usual formalities of perfidy were observed with scrupulous technique. A non-aggression treaty had been solemnly signed and was in force between the two countries. No complaint had been made by Germany of its non-fulfilment. Under its cloak of false confidence, the German armies drew up in immense strength along a line which stretches from the White Sea to the Black Sea; and their air fleets and armoured divisions slowly and methodically took their stations. Then, suddenly without declaration of war, without even an ultimatum, German bombs rained down from the air upon the Russian cities, the German troops violated the frontiers; and an hour later the German Ambassador, who till the night before was lavishing his assurances of friendship, almost of alliance, upon the Russians, called upon the Russian Foreign Minister to tell him that a state of war existed between Germany and Russia.

Thus was repeated on a far larger scale the same kind of outrage against every form of signed compact and international faith which we have witnessed in Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium, and which Hitler's accomplice and jackal Mussolini so faithfully imitated in the case of Greece.

All this was no surprise to me. In fact I gave clear and precise warnings to Stalin of what was coming. I gave him warning as I have given warning to others before. I can only hope that this warning did not fall unheeded. All we know at present is that the Russian people are defending their native soil and that their leaders have called upon them to resist to the utmost.

Hitler is a monster of wickedness, insatiable in his lust for blood and plunder. Not content with having all Europe under his

1137 Churchill, End of the Beginning, p.253.

1138 Churchill, The Unrelenting Struggle, p.169.

heel, or else terrorized into various forms of abject submission, he must now carry his work of butchery and desolation among the vast multitudes of Russia and of Asia. The terrible military machine, which we and the rest of the civilized world so foolishly, so supinely, so insensately allowed the Nazi gangsters to build up year by year from almost nothing, cannot stand idle lest it rust or fall to pieces. It must be in continual motion, grinding up human lives and trampling down the homes and the rights of hundreds of millions of men. Moreover it must be fed, not only with flesh but with oil.

So now this bloodthirsty guttersnipe must launch his mechanized armies upon new fields of slaughter, pillage and devastation. Poor as are the Russian peasants, workmen and soldiers, he must steal from them their daily bread; he must devour their harvests; he must rob them of the oil which drives their ploughs; and thus produce a famine without example in human history. And even the carnage and ruin which his victory, should he gain it—he has not gained it yet—will bring upon the Russian people, will itself be only a stepping-stone to the attempt to plunge the four or five hundred millions who live in China, and the three hundred and fifty millions who live in India, into that bottomless pit of human degradation over which the diabolic emblem of the Swastika flaunts itself. It is not too much to say here this summer evening that the lives and happiness of a thousand million additional people are now menaced with brutal Nazi violence. That is enough to make us hold our breath. But presently I shall show you something else that lies behind, and something that touches very nearly the life of Britain and of the United States.

The Nazi regime is indistinguishable from the worst features of Communism. It is devoid of all theme and principle except appetite and racial domination. It excels all forms of human wickedness in the efficiency of its cruelty and ferocious aggression. No one has been a more consistent opponent of Communism than I have for the last twenty-five years. I will unsay no word that I have spoken about it. But all this fades away before the spectacle which is now unfolding. The past with its crimes, its follies and its tragedies, flashes away. I see the Russian soldiers standing on the threshold of their native land, guarding the fields which their fathers have tilled from time immemorial. I see them guarding their homes where mothers and wives pray—ah yes, for there are times when all pray—for the safety of their loved ones, the return of the breadwinner, of their champion, of their protector. I see the ten thousand villages of Russia, where the means of existence was wrung so hardly from the soil, but where there are still primordial human joys, where maidens laugh and children play. I see advancing upon all this in hideous onslaught the Nazi war machine, with its clanking, heel-clicking, dandified Prussian officers, its crafty expert agents fresh from the cowing and tying-down of a dozen countries. I see also the dull, drilled, docile, brutish masses of the Hun soldiery

plodding on like a swarm of crawling locusts. I see the German bombers and fighters in the sky, still smarting from many a British whipping, delighted to find what they believe is an easier and a safer prey.

Behind all this glare, behind all this storm, I see that small group of villainous men who plan, organize and launch this cataract of horrors upon mankind. And then my mind goes back across the years to the days when the Russian armies were our allies against the same deadly foe; when they fought with so much valour and constancy, and helped to gain a victory from all share in which, alas, they were—through no fault of ours—utterly cut off. I have lived through all this, and you will pardon me if I express my feelings and the stir of old memories.

But now I have to declare the decision of His Majesty's Government—and I feel sure it is a decision in which the great Dominions will, in due course, concur—for we must speak out now at once, without a day's delay. I have to make the declaration, but can you doubt what our policy will be? We have but one aim and one single, irrevocable purpose. We are resolved to destroy Hitler and every vestige of the Nazi regime. From this nothing will turn us—nothing. We will never parley, we will never negotiate with Hitler or any of his gang. We shall fight him by land, we shall fight him by sea, we shall fight him in the air, until with God's help we have rid the earth of his shadow and liberated its peoples from his yoke. Any man or state who marches with Hitler is our foe. This applies not only to organized states but to all representatives of that vile race of quislings who make themselves the tools and agents of the Nazi regime against their fellow-countrymen and the lands of their birth. They—these quislings—like the Nazi leaders themselves, if not disposed of by their fellow-countrymen, which would save trouble, will be delivered by us on the morrow of victory to the justice of the Allied tribunals. That is our policy and that is our declaration. It follows, therefore, that we shall give whatever help we can to Russia and the Russian people. We shall appeal to all our friends and allies in every part of the world to take the same course and pursue it, as we shall, faithfully and steadfastly to the end.

We have offered the Government of Soviet Russia any technical or economic assistance which is in our power, and which is likely to be of service to them. We shall bomb Germany by day as well as by night in ever-increasing measure, casting upon them month by month a heavier discharge of bombs, and making the German people taste and gulp each month a sharper dose of the miseries they have showered upon mankind. It is noteworthy that only yesterday the Royal Air Force, fighting inland over French territory, cut down with very small loss to themselves 28 of the Hun fighting machines in the air above the French soil they have invaded, defiled and profess to hold. But this is only a beginning. From now forward the main expansion of our Air Force proceeds with gathering speed. In another six months

the weight of the help we are receiving from the United States in war materials of all kinds, and especially in heavy bombers, will begin to tell.

This is no class war, but a war in which the whole British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations is engaged without distinction of race, creed or party. It is not for me to speak of the action of the United States, but this I will say; if Hitler imagines that his attack on Soviet Russia will cause the slightest division of aims or slackening of effort in the great Democracies who are resolved upon his doom, he is woefully mistaken. On the contrary, we shall be fortified and encouraged in our efforts to rescue mankind from his tyranny. We shall be strengthened and not weakened in determination and in resources.

This is no time to moralize on the follies of countries and governments which have allowed themselves to be struck down one by one, when by united action they could have saved themselves from this catastrophe. But when I spoke a few minutes ago of Hitler's blood-lust and the hateful appetites which have impelled or lured him on his Russian adventure, I said there was one deeper motive behind his outrage. He wishes to destroy the Russian power because he hopes that if he succeeds in this, he will be able to bring back the main strength of his army and air force from the East and hurl it upon this Island, which he knows he must conquer or suffer the penalty of his crimes. His invasion of Russia is no more than a prelude to an attempted invasion of the British Isles. He hopes, no doubt, that all this may be accomplished before the winter comes, and that he can overwhelm Great Britain before the fleet and air power of the United States may intervene. He hopes that he may once again repeat, upon a greater scale than ever before, that process of destroying his enemies one by one, by which he has so long thrived and prospered, and that then the scene will be clear for the final act, without which all his conquests would be in vain—namely, the subjugation of the Western Hemisphere to his will and to his system.

The Russian danger is therefore our danger, and the danger of the United States, just as the cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe. Let us learn the lessons already taught by such cruel experience. Let us redouble our exertions, and strike with united strength while life and power remain.

COAL AND WAR 1139

War is made with steel, and steel is made with coal. This is the first and only industry I have addressed as an industry during the time of my responsibility. I am doing so because coal is the foundation and, to a very large extent, the measure of our whole war effort. I thought it would be a good thing if we met in private. The Press are our good friends, they play their part in the battle, a valuable part and an indispensable part, but the difficulty about making reported speeches is—look at all the ears that listen, look at the different audiences that have to be considered! So, if you will allow me to say so, I thought it would be a compliment to the coal industry if I, in my position, and the other Ministers who are here, came and had a talk in private with you about our great affairs. Of course, I cannot see the whole of the coal industry, but I have come here to give you first-hand guidance, and I am going to ask you to go back to your pits as the ambassadors of His Majesty's Government, to tell them the impressions you have formed and assist to the utmost in promoting the common cause.

I am very glad indeed to see the success Gwilym is making of his extremely hard job. He bears a name which is a household word, and he is adding the distinction which a second generation can impart to such a name; the distinction of great services rendered by the father, sustained and carried forward by the son. I am told that in the few months since he has been Minister of Fuel, Power and Light, out of 1,600 Pit Production Committees he has actually visited and addressed 714. No one can say that he is sparing himself, and no one can say that his exertions have gone without response. The output has improved in recent weeks, and I well know what an effort that must require because of the adverse circumstances which war-time conditions impose upon production, but still it is not enough. As he told you just now, the great munition plants are coming into production. Factories, plants and mills begun two years ago are now completed. The population has been assembled, the workers are there, and the great wheels are turning, turning out the apparatus of war, and they are consuming in many cases 40 per cent more fuel, largely in the form of gas, than was the case last year. This comes to us at a time of special necessity. We are making the utmost economies compatible with the health and welfare of the people in the consumption of fuel, but such economies as we can make cannot achieve the results necessary to bridge the gap between the growing consuming power of the great war plants and the existing supply. Besides, I do not want to cut the cottage homes too sharply. The people must have warmth for their spirits and for their war efficiency, and one can easily go too far in that direction.

The White Paper has placed the coal industry upon the basis of national service for the duration of the war, and for a further period until Parliament has reviewed the scheme in the light of the experience gained. I therefore come here to-day to call upon everyone in that industry, managements and miners alike, hand in hand, to sweep away all remaining obstacles to maximum production. That is the object with which this meeting is called, but here let me say this. I am very sorry that we have had to debar so many miners from going to the war in the Armed Forces. I respect their feelings, but we cannot afford it; we cannot allow it. Besides the need for their services in the pits, there is danger in the pits too, and where there is danger there is honour. "Ast well thy part, there all the honour lies," and that is the motto I want to give out to all those who in an infinite variety of ways are playing an equally worthy part in the consummation of our high purpose.

But I have not come to address you mainly about coal. I have come to talk mainly about war, and that is why I brought the Field-Marshal (Smuts) with me. It was a surprise, but also a prize. He and I are old comrades. I cannot say there has never been a kick in our gallop. I was examined by him when I was a prisoner of war, and I escaped; but we made an honourable and generous peace on both sides, and for the last forty years we have been comrades working together. I was very glad to entice him over here. He has great duties to discharge in South Africa. He holds that gateway to our brothers in Australia and New Zealand and the Middle East. He holds that gateway faithfully and surely, for—to quote his own famous phrase, although not everybody knows it is his own phrase—for the British Commonwealth of Nations, and, as you all feel he may justly say, for the purposes which are wider and larger and longer even than the British Commonwealth of Nations.

You, Major Lloyd George, have spoken about the past, about the crisis of 1940, and we ought from time to time to look back to that astonishing experience in our lives. Unprepared, almost unarmed, left alone, this country never flinched. With one voice it defied the tyrant. That was indeed our finest hour, and it was from that hour that our deliverance came. We had in this small island, this island lost in the northern mists, rendered a service to the whole world which will be acknowledged even when a thousand years have passed.

This brings me to a point which I will venture to mention. I do not think the British have any need to apologise for being alive. When I see critics in other countries, and not only in other countries, and a stream of criticism which would suggest that we were an unworthy nation; that we were an exploiting nation; that our contribution to world progress has been wanting, nothing is less true. Well was it for Europe, well was it for the world, that the light shone out from this island to guide them all forward upon their paths. Therefore, I am not going to apologise, and I have to pick my words carefully here,

for the fact that we are alive, still alive and kicking. But, Mr. Chairman, I frankly admit that we owe much to the mistakes of our enemies. We have made mistakes, we have made miscalculations; but we are being saved from the consequences of our shortcomings by the incomparably greater mistakes and blunders which these all-wise glittering dictators have perpetrated. Look at the mistake that Hitler made in not trying invasion in 1940. Mind you he tried, tentatively, but the Royal Air Force crushed him. He did attempt to destroy our air fields, our air organisation and our aircraft factories; he tried; but I have often asked myself what would have happened if he had in fact put three-quarters of a million men on board all the barges and boats and let them stream across and taken the chance of losing three-quarters of them. There would have been a terrible shambles in this country because we had hardly a weapon; we had not at that time fifty tanks, whereas we now have 10,000 or 12,000. We had not at that time fifty tanks; we had a couple of hundred field guns, some of them brought out of the museums; we had lost all our equipment at Dunkirk and in France; and indeed we were spared an agonising trial. Of course, we should have gone on fighting, but modern weapons, the weapons made, forged and shaped by modern science and industry, give a terrible advantage against people almost entirely without them, however brave they may be, however ready to give their lives, however proud to give their lives they may be. Well, at any rate, without entering into an attempt to pass final judgment on whether he would have succeeded or not, I am quite content that he did not try, or that he did not try more than he did. But what about the next mistake? I am bound to say I thought it very likely in the early Summer that he would attack Turkey and try to by-pass Russia, but it soon became clear, some weeks before, that he intended to invade Russia in order to steal the larger part of the Russian cornlands and factories and to make it into a great slave area ruled over by the Herrenvolk; but he reckoned without his host. He invaded Russia to find a nation of people ready to fight and die with a valour and steadfastness which none can excel. That was a great mistake. Another mistake was his forgetting about the Russian Winter. You know, it gets cold there, very cold indeed. The snow falls down and lies on the ground, and an icy wind blows in across the Steppes. He overlooked that point, and I expect he has overlooked it again, now that his second campaign against Russia is ending in frustration. Another mistake of our foes was made by Japan when they attacked the United States at Pearl Harbour instead of attacking us alone who were already busy with Italy and Germany in Europe. It was most fortunate that, led away by their dark conspiracies and schemes, dizzy and dazzled from poring over plans, they sprang out upon a peaceful nation with whom they were at that time in peaceful parley, and were led away and tottered over the edge and, for the sake of sinking half a dozen ships of war and beating up a naval port, brought out against them the implacable energies and the measureless power of the 130 million educated people who live in the United States.

We have much to be thankful for.

I sometimes have a feeling, in fact I have it very strongly, a feeling of interference. I want to stress that. I have a feeling sometimes that some guiding hand has interfered. I have the feeling that we have a guardian because we serve a great cause, and that we shall have that guardian so long as we serve that cause faithfully. And what a cause it is! One has only to look at the overwhelming evidence which pours in day by day of the bestial cruelties of the Nazis and the fearful misery of Europe in all the lands into which they have penetrated; the people ground down, exploited, spied upon, terrorised, shot by platoons of soldiers, day after day the executions, and every kind of petty vexation added to those dark and bloody acts of terrorism. Think what they would do to us if they got here. Think what they would do to us, we who have barred their way to the loot of the whole world, we whom they hate the most because they dread and envy us the most. Think what they would do to us.

I said just now that we have had to forbid miners to go into the Armed Forces, and how much I feel we owe you an apology for that, but I must now say that, with my responsibilities, I cannot let miners who have been trained as soldiers leave the Army in large numbers. The miners are amongst the best fighting men we have. The Army needs them, and you would wreck every platoon and every section if you pulled out those men who have made their friends and made their comradeships and know the work and have been trained for over two years in many cases. I have to think of the strength and efficiency of the Army. First, we have to ward off invasion. That for the moment is not a danger, but the danger may come back. First we had to ward off invasion all through the Summer and Winter of 1940 and through the Spring and Summer of 1941, and then, after the attack began on Russia, we were easier in that respect, but we had to be ready for it; and now we are again thinking about invasion, but invasion the other way round, invasion not to conquer and pillage, invasion to liberate and rescue. That is what is in our minds. All Europe is seething under the Nazi yoke. The Army must be ready. It must be ready when the opportunity comes, as come it will, so some must stay in the pits and others must stay in the Army. Both are needed, both are equally needed, and for both there is equal credit.

Now let me speak about the dangers which lie ahead. The first of all our dangers is the U-boat peril. That is a very great danger. Our food, our means of making war, our life, all depend upon the passage of ships across the sea. The whole power of the United States to manifest itself in this war depends upon the power to move ships across the sea. Their mighty power is restricted, it is restricted by those very oceans which have protected them. The oceans which were their shield have now become a bar, a prison house, through which they are struggling to bring armies, fleets and air forces to bear upon the great common problems we have to face. Now we see our way through. I say that with all solemnity and sobriety.

We see our way through. Although it is true that there will be many more U-boats working next year than there are now, and there may be 300 to 400 at work now, yet we have a vast construction of escort vessels, submarine-hunting vessels, afoot, as well as replacements of merchant ships; and in the United States, which has resources in steel far greater than ours and which is not so closely and deeply involved at present, a programme on astronomical lines has been developed and is being carried forward in the construction both of escort vessels and of merchant ships. But what a terrible waste it is to think of all these great ships that are sunk, full of priceless cargoes, and how necessary it is to make that extra intensification of effort which will enable us to get ahead and to establish more complete mastery and so save these ships from being sunk, as well as adding new ones to the Fleet, by which alone the victory of the good cause can be achieved.

There is a second danger. You must never underrate the power of the German machine. It is the most terrible machine that has been created. After the last war they kept the brains of the German Army together. They kept their Great Staff together. Although their weapons were taken away, this tremendous association of people who think about nothing but war, studying war, ruthless scientific war, was held together, thousands of them, and they were able to train and build up an Army which, as you saw, in a few weeks shattered to pieces the once famous Army of France, and which has marched into country after country and laid it low, and laid low every form of opposition, and only now in the vast spaces of Russia is confronted with this immense and valiant race which has stood against them; only now has the resistance of superior numbers made them pay the terrible toll of probably over 4,000,000 lives or men disabled; only now; but do not let us delude ourselves. Hitler lies in the centre, and across all the great railway lines of Europe he can move very rapidly forces from one side to the other. He may close down on one front and open up on another. He has now, across in France and the Low Countries, a German Army as large as we have in this country, apart of course from the Home Guard. That is our great standby against parachute invasion. When I see the number of Divisions there are in France and realise that he can bring back in a few months, at any time in the Spring, 60 or 70 more Divisions, while perhaps lying quiescent or adopting a defensive attitude or perhaps giving some ground on the Russian front, I cannot feel that the danger of invasion can be put out of our minds. After all, if these men can strike us and strike us at the heart, the world is theirs. We are the target. We are the prize. We have sent and are sending many troops away. We are fighting very hard in Egypt now. That battle has only just begun. It is going to be a fight through to a finish. We have sent half a million men from this country to Egypt, to India, to the great regions which lie south of the Caspian Sea, during this present year alone. We must be ready. We must be ready here at the centre, not only to take advantage of any weakness on their part, but to be prepared to ward off any counter-stroke which they may cast upon us.

Do not let people suggest to you that the major dangers of this war are past. We got through one supreme crisis where we might have been smuffed out, and now I do not think such a crisis can recur only because we are armed, because we are ready, because we are organised, because we have the weapons, because we have great numbers of trained men. But do not let us suppose that the dangers are past, even though mortal danger was warded off two years ago.

There is a third danger, and it presents itself in a less precisely defined form. The last hope of the guilty Huns is a stalemate. Their idea has been made very plain in a series of speeches all delivered in the last month by Hitler, Goring, Goebbels and others, all defining and describing one conception, the idea of making a vast fortress of the greater part of Europe, with the Russian cornfields worked by slaves from the subjugated nations and by the prisoners of war, of whom they have several million, of organising a great European arsenal out of all the factories of the conquered countries, of starving and disciplining everyone in this great fortress area in order to feed the master race, and so hold out for years and years hoping that we shall get tired and fall out amongst ourselves and make a compromise peace, which means, and can only mean, that they will begin again. That is the third danger, and in some ways I think you will admit it is the most insidious of all.

Now, then, are we to make sure of shortening the War? It is said we ought to concert our war plans. Well, everyone would agree to that. There is an obstacle, however, which should not escape attention--geography. You remember that thing we used to learn at school--all those maps; geography. We do the best we can to get over geography. The Field-Marshal and I fly to and fro wherever we have to go, for no other purpose than to bring into the closest possible concert the plans of the principal different nations on whom our alliance depends, and one of these fine days--mark my words--you will see whether we have been idle and whether we are quite incapable of design and action.

My Lords and Gentlemen, we have great Allies. We are no longer alone. Thirty nations march with us. Russia has come in, the United States have come in, there is another great ally on the way--supremacy in the air. We have got that supremacy in Egypt now. Presently we shall have it everywhere. Already we are blasting their war industries, already they are receiving what they gave, with interest--with compound interest. Soon they will get a bonus. Help us in all this. I know you will. All depends upon inflexible will-power based on the conviction shared by a whole people that the cause is good and righteous. Let it be the glory of our country to lead this world out of the dark valley into the broader and more genial sunshine. In the crisis of 1940, it is no more than the sober truth to say, we saved the freedom of mankind. We gave Russia time to arm,

and the United States to organise; but now it is a long cold strain we have to bear, harder perhaps for the British to bear than the shocks which they know so well how to take. We must not cast away our great deliverance; we must carry our work to its final conclusion. We shall not fail, and then some day, when children ask "What did you do to win this inheritance for us, and to make our name so respected among men?" one will say: "I was a fighter pilot"; another will say: "I was in the Submarine Service"; another: "I marched with the Eighth Army"; a fourth will say: "None of you could have lived without the convoys and the Merchant Seamen"; and you in your turn will say, with equal pride and with equal right: "We cut the coal."

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In the name of His Majesty's Government, representing all Parties, and personally, from the bottom of my heart, I thank you most profoundly.

VICTORY AS A SPUR 1140

Two Sundays ago all the bells rang to celebrate the victory of our desert Army at Alamein. Here was a martial episode in British history which deserved a special recognition. But the bells also carried with their clashing joyous peals our thanksgiving that, in spite of all our errors and shortcomings, we have been brought nearer to the frontiers of deliverance. We have not reached those frontiers yet, but we are becoming ever more entitled to be sure that the awful perils which might well have blotted out our life and all that we love and cherish will be surmounted, and that we shall be preserved for further service in the vanguard of mankind.

We have to look back along the path we have trodden these last three years of toil and strife, to value properly all that we have escaped and all that we have achieved. No mood of boastfulness, of vain glory, of over-confidence must cloud our minds; but I think we have a right which history will endorse to feel that we had the honour to play a part in saving the freedom and the future of the world. That wonderful association of States and races spread all over the globe called the British Empire—or British Commonwealth if you will; I do not quarrel about it—and above all, our small Island, stood in the gap alone in the deadly hour. Here we stood, firm though all was drifting; throughout the British Empire no one faltered. All around was very dark. Here we kept the light burning which now spreads broadly over the vast array of the United Nations; that is why it was right to ring out the bells, and to lift our heads for a moment in gratitude and in relief, before we turn again to the grim and probably long ordeals which lie before us and to the exacting tasks upon which we are engaged.

Since we rang the bells for Alamein, the good cause has prospered. The Eighth Army has advanced nearly four hundred miles, driving before them in rout and ruin the powerful forces, or the remnants of the powerful forces, which Rommel boasted and Hitler and Mussolini believed would conquer Egypt. Another serious battle may be impending at the entrance to Tripolitania. I make it a rule not to prophesy about battles before they are fought. Everyone must try to realise the immense distances over which the North African war ranges, and the enormous labours and self-denial of the troops who press forward relentlessly, twenty, thirty, forty and sometimes fifty miles in a single day. I will say no more than that we may have the greatest confidence in Generals Alexander and Montgomery, and in our soldiers and airmen who have at last begun to come into their own.

At the other side of Africa, a thousand miles or more to the westward, the tremendous joint undertaking of the United States and

Britain which was fraught with so many hazards has also been crowned with astonishing success. To transport these large armies of several hundred thousand men, with all their intricate elaborate modern apparatus, secretly across the seas and oceans, and to strike to the hour, and almost to the minute, simultaneously at a dozen points, in spite of all the U-boats and all the chances of weather, was a feat of organisation which will long be studied with respect. It was rendered possible only by one sovereign fact--namely the perfect comradeship and understanding prevailing between the British and American staffs and troops. This majestic enterprise is under the direction and responsibility of the President of the United States, and our First British Army is serving under the orders of the American Commander-in-Chief, General Eisenhower, in whose military skill and burning energy we put our faith, and whose orders to attack we shall punctually and unflinchingly obey. Behind all lies the power of the Royal Navy, to which is joined a powerful American Fleet; the whole under the command of Admiral Cunningham, and all subordinated to the Allied Commander-in-Chief.

It was not only that the U-boats were evaded and brushed aside by the powerfully-escorted British and American convoys; they were definitely beaten in the ten-days' conflict that followed the landings, both inside and outside the Mediterranean. Here was no more secrecy. We had many scores of ships continuously exposed; large numbers of U-boats were concentrated from all quarters; our destroyers and corvettes and our aircraft took up the challenge and wore them down and beat them off. For every transport or supply ship we have lost, a U-boat has been sunk or severely damaged; for every ton of Anglo-American shipping lost so far in this expedition, we have gained perhaps two tons in the shipping acquired or recovered in the French harbours of North and West Africa. Thus, in this respect, as Napoleon recommended, war has been made to support war.

General Alexander timed his battle at Alamein to suit exactly this great stroke from the West, in order that his victory should encourage friendly countries to preserve their strict neutrality, and also to rally the French Forces in North-West Africa to a full sense of their duty and of their opportunity. Now at this moment, the First British Army is striking hard at the last remaining footholds of the Germans and Italians in Tunisia. American, British and French troops are pressing forward side by side, vying with each other in a general rivalry and brotherhood. In this there lies the hope and the portent of the future.

I have been speaking about Africa, about the 2,000 miles of coastline fronting the underside of subjugated Europe. From all this we intend, and I will go so far as to say we expect, to expel the enemy before long. But Africa is no halting-place; it is not a seat but a springboard. We shall use Africa only to come to closer grips. Anyone can see the importance to us of re-opening

the Mediterranean to military traffic and saving the long voyage round the Cape. Perhaps by this short cut and the economy of shipping resulting from it, we may strike as heavy a blow at the U-boats as has happened in the whole war; but there is another advantage to be gained by the mastery of the North African shore; we open the air battle upon a new front. In order to shorten the struggle, it is our duty to engage the enemy in the air continuously on the largest scale and at the highest intensity. To bring relief to the tortured world, there must be the maximum possible air fighting. Already, the German Air Force is a wasting asset; their new construction is not keeping pace with their losses; their front line is weakening both in numbers and, on the whole, in quality. The British, American and Russian Air Forces, already together far larger, are growing steadily and rapidly; the British and United States expansion in 1943 will be, to put it mildly, well worth watching; all we need is more frequent opportunities of contact. The new air front, from which the Americans and also the Royal Air Force are deploying along the Mediterranean shore, ought to give us these extra opportunities abundantly in 1943. Thirdly, our operations in French North Africa should enable us to bring the weight of the war home to the Italian Fascist state, in a manner not hitherto dreamed of by its guilty leaders, or still less by the unfortunate Italian people Mussolini has led, exploited and disgraced. Already the centres of war industry in Northern Italy are being subjected to harder treatment than any of our cities experienced in the winter of 1940. But if the enemy should in due course be blasted from the Tunisian tip, which is our aim, the whole of the South of Italy—all the naval bases, all the munition establishments and other military objectives wherever situated—will be brought under prolonged, scientific, and shattering air attack.

It is for the Italian people, forty millions of them, to say whether they want this terrible thing to happen to their country or not. One man, and one man alone, has brought them to this pass. There was no need for them to go to war; no one was going to attack them. We tried our best to induce them to remain neutral, to enjoy peace and prosperity and exceptional profits in a world of storm. But Mussolini could not resist the temptation of stabbing prostrate France, and what he thought was helpless Britain, in the back. Mad dreams of imperial glory, the lust of conquest and of booty, the arrogance of long-unbridled tyranny, led him to his fatal, shameful act. In vain I warned him: he would not hearken. On deaf ears and a stony heart fell the wise, far-seeing appeals of the American President. The hyena in his nature broke all bounds of decency and even commonsense. To-day his Empire is gone. We have over a hundred Italian generals and nearly three hundred thousand of his soldiers in our hands as prisoners of war. Agony grips the fair land of Italy. This is only the beginning, and what have the Italians to show for it? A brief promenade by German permission along the Riviera; a flying visit to Corsica; a bloody struggle with the heroic patriots of Yugoslavia; a deed of undying shame in Greece;

the ruins of Genoa, Turin, Milan; and this is only a foretaste. One man and the regime he has created have brought these measureless calamities upon the hard-working, gifted, and once happy Italian people, with whom, until the days of Mussolini, the English-speaking world had so many sympathies and never a quarrel. How long must this endure?

We may certainly be glad about what has lately happened in Africa, and we may look forward with sober confidence to the moment when we can say: one continent relieved. But these successes in Africa, swift and decisive as they have been, must not divert our attention from the prodigious blows which Russia is striking on the Eastern Front. All the world wonders at the giant strength which Russia has been able to conserve and to apply. The invincible defence of Stalingrad is matched by the commanding military leadership of Stalin. When I was leaving the Kremlin in the middle of August, I said to Premier Stalin: "When we have decisively defeated Rommel in Egypt, I will send you a telegram." And he replied: "When we make our counter-offensive here" (and he drew the arrow on the map), "I will send you one." Both messages have duly arrived, and both have been thankfully received.

As I speak, the immense battle, which has already yielded results of the first magnitude, is moving forward to its climax; and this, it must be remembered, is only one part of the Russian front, stretching from the White Sea to the Black Sea, along which, at many points, the Russian armies are attacking. The jaws of another Russian winter are closing on Hitler's armies—a hundred and eighty German divisions, many of them reduced to little more than brigades by the slaughters and privations they have suffered, together with a host of miserable Italians, Rumanians, and Hungarians, dragged from their homes by a maniac's fantasy; all these as they reel back from the fire and steel of the avenging Soviet Armies must prepare themselves with weakened forces and with added pangs for a second dose of what they got last year. They have, of course, the consolation of knowing that they have been commanded and led, not by the German General Staff, but by Corporal Hitler himself.

I must conduct you back to the West—to France, where another vivid scene of this strange melancholy drama has been unfolded. It was foreseen when we were planning the descent upon North Africa that this would bring about immediate reactions in France. I never had the slightest doubt myself that Hitler would break the Armistice, overrun all France, and try to capture the French fleet at Toulon; such developments were to be welcomed by the United Nations, because they entailed the extinction for all practical purposes of the sorry farce and fraud of the Vichy Government. This was a necessary prelude to that reunion of France without which French resurrection is impossible. We have taken a long step towards that unity. The artificial division between occupied and unoccupied territory has been swept away. In France all Frenchmen are equally under the German

yoke, and will learn to hate it with equal intensity. Abroad all Frenchmen will fire at the common foe. We may be sure that after what has happened, the ideals and the spirit of what we have called Fighting France will exercise a dominating influence upon the whole French nation. I agree with General de Gaulle that the last scales of deception have now fallen from the eyes of the French people; indeed, it was time.

"A clever conqueror," wrote Hitler in Mein Kampf, "will always, if possible, impose his demands on the conquered by instalments. For a people that makes a voluntary surrender saps its own character, and with such a people you can calculate that none of those oppressions in detail will supply quite enough reason for it to resort once more to arms." How carefully, how punctiliously he lives up to his own devilish doctrines! The perfidy by which the French fleet was ensnared is the latest and most complete example. That fleet, brought by folly and by worse than folly to its melancholy end, redeemed its honour by an act of self-immolation, and from the flame and smoke of the explosions at Toulon, France will rise again.

The ceaseless flow of good news from every theatre of war, which has filled the whole month of November, confronts the British people with a new test. They have proved that they can stand defeat; they have proved that they can bear with fortitude and confidence long periods of unsatisfactory and unexplained inaction. I see no reason at all why we should not show ourselves equally resolute and active in the face of victory. I promise nothing. I predict nothing. I cannot even guarantee that more successes are not on the way. I commend to all the immortal lines of Kipling:

If you can dream—and not make dreams your master;
If you can think—and not make thoughts your aim;
If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same—

there is my text for this Sunday's sermon, though I have no licence to preach one. Do not let us be led away by any fair-seeming appearances of fortune; let us rather put our trust in those deep, slow-moving tides that have borne us thus far already, and will surely bear us forward, if we know how to use them, until we reach the harbour where we would be.

I know of nothing that has happened yet which justifies the hope that the war will not be long, or that bitter and bloody years do not lie ahead. Certainly the most painful experiences would lie before us if we allowed ourselves to relax our exertions, to weaken the discipline, unity and order of our array, if we fell to quarrelling about what we should do with our victory before that victory had been won. We must not build on hopes or fears, but only on the continued faithful discharge of our duty, wherein alone will

be found safety and peace of mind. Remember that Hitler with his armies and his secret police holds nearly all Europe in his grip. Remember that he has millions of slaves to toil for him, a vast mass of munitions, many mighty arsenals, many fertile fields. Remember that Göring has brazenly declared that whoever starves in Europe, it will not be the Germans. Remember that these villains know their lives are at stake. Remember how small a portion of the German Army we British have yet been able to engage and to destroy. Remember that the U-boat warfare is not diminishing but growing, and that it may well be worse before it is better. Then, facing the facts, the ugly facts as well as the encouraging facts, undaunted, then we shall learn to use victory as a spur to further efforts, and make good fortune the means of gaining more.

This much only will I say about the future, and I say it with an acute consciousness of the fallibility of my own judgment. It may well be that the war in Europe will come to an end before the war in Asia. The Atlantic may be calm, while in the Pacific the hurricane rises to its full pitch. If events should take such a course, we should at once bring all our forces to the other side of the world, to the aid of the United States, to the aid of China, and above all to the aid of our kith and kin in Australia and New Zealand, in their valiant struggle against the aggressions of Japan. While we were thus engaged in the Far East, we should be sitting with the United States and our ally Russia and those of the United Nations concerned, shaping the international instruments and national settlements which must be devised if the free life of Europe is ever to rise again, and if the fearful quarrels which have rent European civilisation are to be prevented from once more disturbing the progress of the world. It seems to me that should the war end thus, in two successive stages, there will be a far higher sense of comradeship around the council table than existed among the victors at Versailles. Then the danger had passed away. The common bond between the Allies had snapped. There was no sense of corporate responsibility such as exists when victorious nations who are masters of one vast scene are, most of them, still waging war side by side in another. I should hope, therefore, that we shall be able to make better solutions—more far-reaching, more lasting solutions—of the problems of Europe at the end of this war than was possible a quarter of a century ago. It is not much use pursuing these speculations farther at this time. For no one can possibly know what the state of Europe or of the world will be, when the Nazi and Fascist tyrannies have been finally broken. The dawn of 1943 will soon loom red before us, and we must brace ourselves to cope with the trials and problems of what must be a stern and terrible year. We do so with the assurance of ever-growing strength, and we do so as a nation with a strong will, a bold heart and a good conscience.

THE CALL FOR A THREE-POWER TALK 1141

At the beginning of July I began to feel the need for a new meeting with the President of the United States and also for another conference of our joint staffs. We were all delighted when, by a happy inspiration, President Roosevelt suggested that Quebec should be the scene, and when the Governor-General and the Government of Canada offered us their princely hospitalities. Certainly no more fitting and splendid setting could have been chosen for a meeting of those who guide the war policy of the two great Western democracies at this cardinal moment in the Second World War than we have here in the Plains of Abraham, the Chateau Frontenac, and the ramparts of the Citadel of Quebec, from the midst of which I speak to you now.

Here at the gateway of Canada, in mighty lands which have never known the totalitarian tyrannies of Hitler and Mussolini, the spirit of freedom has found a safe and abiding home. Here that spirit is no wandering phantom. It is enshrined in Parliamentary institutions based on universal suffrage and evolved through the centuries by the English-speaking peoples. It is inspired by the Magna Carta and the Declaration of Independence. It is guarded by resolute and vigilant millions, never so strong or so well armed as to-day.

Quebec was the very place for the two great Powers of sea and of the air to resolve and shape plans to bring their large and growing armies into closer contact and fiercer grips with the common foe. Here above all, in the capital and heart of French Canada, was it right to think of the French people in their agony, to set on foot new measures for their deliverance, and to send them a message across the ocean that we have not forgotten them, nor all the services that France has rendered to culture and civilisation, to the march of the human intellect and to the rights of man. For forty years or more I have believed in the greatness and virtue of France, often in dark and baffling days I have not wavered, and since the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 I have always served and worked actively with the French in the defence of good causes.

It was therefore to me a deep satisfaction that words of hope, of comfort and recognition should be spoken, not only to those Frenchmen who, outside Hitler's clutches, march in arms with us, but also to the broad masses of the French nation who await the day when they can free and cleanse their land from the torment and shame of German subjugation. We may be sure that all will come right. We

1141 Churchill, Onwards to Victory, p.223.

may be sure that France will rise again free, united, and independent, to stand on guard with others over the generous tolerances and brightening opportunities of the human society we mean to rescue and rebuild.

I have also had the advantage of conferring with the Prime Minister of Canada, Mr. Mackenzie King, that experienced statesman who led the Dominion instantly and unitedly into the war, and of sitting on several occasions with his Cabinet, and the British and Canadian Staffs have been over the whole ground of the war together. The contribution which Canada has made to the combined effort of the British Commonwealth and Empire in these tremendous times has deeply touched the heart of the Mother Country and of all the other members of our widespread family of States and races.

From the darkest days the Canadian army, growing stronger year by year, has played an indispensable part in guarding our British homeland from invasion. Now it is fighting with distinction in wider and ever-widening fields. The Empire Air Training Organisation, which has been a wonderful success, has found its seat in Canada, and has welcomed the flower of the manhood of Great Britain, of Australia, and New Zealand to her spacious flying-fields and to comradeship with her own gallant sons.

Canada has become in the course of this war an important seafaring nation, building many scores of warships and merchant ships, some of them thousands of miles from salt water, and sending them forth manned by hardy Canadian seamen to guard the Atlantic convoys and our vital life-line across the ocean. The munition industries of Canada have played a most important part in our war economy. Last, but not least, Canada has relieved Great Britain of what would otherwise have been a debt for these munitions of no less than \$2,000,000,000.

All this, of course, was dictated by no law. It came from no treaty or formal obligation. It sprang in perfect freedom from sentiment and tradition and a generous resolve to serve the future of mankind. I am glad to pay my tribute on behalf of the people of Great Britain to the great Dominion, and to pay it from Canadian soil. I only wish indeed that my other duties, which are exacting, allowed me to travel still farther afield and tell Australians, New Zealanders, and South Africans to their faces how we feel towards them for all they have done, and are resolved to do.

I mentioned just now the agreement Britain made with France almost forty years ago, and how we have stood by it, and will stand by it, with unswerving faithfulness. But there is another great nation with whom we have made a solemn treaty. We have made a twenty-years' treaty of good will and mutual aid with Soviet Russia. You may be sure that we British are resolved to do our utmost to make that good with all our strength and national steadiness.

It would not have been suitable for Russia to be represented at this Anglo-American conference, which, apart from dealing with the immediate operations of our intermingled and interwoven armed forces in the Mediterranean and elsewhere, was largely, if not mainly, concerned with heating and inflaming the war against Japan, with whom the Soviet Government have a five years' treaty of non-aggression.

It would have been an embarrassing invitation for us to send. But nothing is nearer to the wishes of President Roosevelt and myself than to have a threefold meeting with Marshal Stalin. If that has not yet taken place, it is certainly not because we have not tried our best, or have not been willing to lay aside every impediment and undertake further immense journeys for that purpose. It is because Marshal Stalin, in direct command of the victorious Russian Armies, cannot at the present time leave the battle-fronts upon which he is conducting operations of vital consequence—not only to Russia, which is the object of ferocious German attack, but also to the common cause of all the United Nations.

To judge by the latest news from the Russian battle-fronts, Marshal Stalin is certainly not wasting his time. The entire British Empire sends him our salutes on this brilliant summer campaign, and on the victories of Orël, Kharkov, and Taganrog, by which so much Russian soil has been redeemed and so many hundreds of thousands of its invaders wiped out.

The President and I will persevere in our efforts to meet Marshal Stalin, and in the meantime it seems most necessary and urgent that a conference of the British, United States, and Russian Foreign Ministers, or their responsible representatives, should be held at some convenient place, in order not merely to explore the various important questions connected with the future arrangements for world security, but to carry their discussions to a point where the heads of States and Governments may be able to intervene.

We shall also be very glad to associate Russian representatives with us in the political decisions which arise out of the victories the Anglo-American Forces have gained in the Mediterranean. In fact, there is no step which we may take, or which may be forced upon us by the unforeseeable course of this war, about which we should not wish to consult with our Russian friends and allies in the fullest confidence and candour. It would be a very great advantage to us all and indeed to the whole free world, if a unity of thought and decision upon practical measures for the longer future, as well as upon strategic problems, could be reached between the three great opponents of the Hitlerite tyranny.

We have heard a lot of talk in the last two years about establishing what is called a Second Front in Northern France against Germany. Anyone can see how desirable that immense operation of war would be. It is quite natural that the Russians, bearing the

main weight of the German armies on their front, should urge us ceaselessly to undertake this task, and should in no way conceal their complaints and even reproaches that we have not done it before.

I do not blame them at all for what they say. They fight so well, and they have inflicted such enormous injury upon the military strength of Germany, that nothing they could say in honest criticism of our strategy, or the part we have so far been able to take in the war, would be taken amiss by us, or weaken our admiration for their own martial prowess and achievement.

We once had a fine front in France, but it was torn to pieces by the concentrated might of Hitler; and it is easier to have a front pulled down than it is to build it up again. I look forward to the day when British and American liberating armies will cross the Channel in full force and come to close quarters with the German invaders of France. You would certainly not wish me to tell you when that is likely to happen, or whether it be soon or late; but whenever the great blow is struck, you may be sure that it will be because we are satisfied that there is a good chance of continuing success, and that our soldiers' lives will be expended in accordance with sound military plans and not squandered for political considerations of any kind.

I submit to the judgment of the United Nations, and of history, that British and American strategy, as directed by our combined Chiefs of Staff, and as approved and to some extent inspired by the President and myself, has been the best that was open to us in a practical sense. It has been bold and daring, and has brought into play against the enemy the maximum effective forces that could have been deployed up to the present by Great Britain and the United States, having regard to the limitations of ocean transport, to the peculiar conditions of amphibious warfare, and to the character and training of the armies we possess, which have largely been called into being since the beginning of the war.

Personally, I always think of the Third Front as well as the Second Front. I have always thought that the Western democracies should be like a boxer who fights with two hands and not one. I believe that the great flanking movement into North Africa, made under the authority of President Roosevelt and of His Majesty's Government, for whom I am a principal agent, will be regarded in the after time as quite a good thing to do in all the circumstances.

Certainly it has reaped rich and substantial results. Africa is cleared. All German and Italian armies in Africa have been annihilated, and at least half a million prisoners are in our hands. In a brilliant campaign of 38 days Sicily, which was defended by over 400,000 Axis troops, has been conquered.

Mussolini has been overthrown. The war impulse of Italy has been destroyed, and that unhappy country is paying a terrible

penalty for allowing herself to be misled by false and criminal guides. How much easier it is to join bad companions than to shake them off! A large number of German troops have lately been drawn away from France in order to hold down the Italian people, in order to make Italy a battleground, and to keep the war as distant and as long as possible from German soil. By far the greater part of the German Air Force has been drawn off from the Russian front, and indeed is being engaged and worn down with ever-growing intensity, by night and day, by British and American and Canadian airmen.

More than all this, we have established a strategic initiative and potential—both from the Atlantic and from the Mediterranean—of which the enemy can neither measure the weight nor foresee the hour of application. Both in the Mediterranean and in our air assaults on Germany the war has prospered. An immense diminution of Hitler's war-making capacity has been achieved by the air bombardment, and of course that bombardment will steadily increase in volume and in accuracy as each successive month passes by.

I readily admit that much of all this would have been impossible in this form or at this time, but for the valiant and magnificent exertions and triumphs of the Russian Army, who have defended their native soil against a vile and unprovoked attack with incomparable vigour, skill, and devotion, and at a terrible price in Russian blood.

No Government ever formed among men has been capable of surviving injuries so grave and cruel as those inflicted by Hitler upon Russia. But under the leadership of Marshal Stalin, and thanks also to the stand made by the British peoples when they were all alone, and to the abundant British and American ammunition and supplies of all kinds, Russia has not only survived and recovered from these frightful injuries, but has inflicted, as no other force in the world could have inflicted, mortal damage on the German army machine.

Most important and significant events are taking place in the Balkans as a result of the Russian victories, and also, I believe, of the Anglo-American campaign against Italy. Thrice in the last thirty years the Bulgarian people, who owed their liberation and existence to Russia, have been betrayed against their interest, and to a large extent against their wishes, and driven by evil rulers into disaster. The fate of Boris may serve other miscreants with the reminder that the wages of sin is death.

This is also the time to remember the glorious resistance to the invaders of their native lands of the peoples of Yugoslavia and of Greece, and of those whom Mr. Gladstone once called "the heroic Highlanders of Montenegro." The whole of the Balkans is aflame, and the impending collapse of Italy as a war factor will not only remove from the scene the most numerous of their assailants, but will also bring help nearer to those unconquerable races. I look forward

with confidence to the day when Yugoslavia and Greece will once again be free—free to live their own lives and decide their own destiny. I take this opportunity to send a message of encouragement to these peoples and their Governments, and to the Kings of Greece and Yugoslavia, who have never faltered for one moment in their duty, and whom we hope to see restored to their thrones by the free choice of their liberated peoples.

Let us then all go forward together, making the best of ourselves and the best of each other; resolved to apply the maximum forces at our command without regard to any other single thought than the attack and destruction of those monstrous and evil dominations which have so nearly cost each and all of us our national lives and mankind its future.

Of course, as I told you, a large part of the Quebec discussions was devoted to the vehement prosecution of the war against Japan. The main forces of the United States and the manhood of Australia and New Zealand are engaged in successful grapple with the Japanese in the Pacific. The principal responsibility of Great Britain against Japan at present lies on the Indian front and in the Indian Ocean. The creation of a Combined Anglo-American Command over all the forces—land, sea, and air—of both countries in that theatre, similar to what has proved so successful in North-West Africa, has now been brought into effect.

A Supreme Commander of the South-East Asia front has been chosen, and his name has been acclaimed by British, American, and Chinese opinion. He will act in constant association with Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek. It is true that Lord Louis Mountbatten is only 43. It is not often under modern conditions and in established military professions that a man gets so great a chance so early. But if an officer having devoted his life to the military art does not know about war at 43, he is not likely to learn much more about it later on. As Chief of Combined Operations, Lord Louis has shown rare powers of organisation and resourcefulness. He is what—pedants notwithstanding—I will venture to call "a complete triphibian," that is to say, a creature equally at home in three elements—earth, air, and water—and also well accustomed to fire. We all wish the new Command and its commander full success in their novel, varied, and certainly most difficult task.

I have been asked several times since I crossed the Atlantic whether I think the Germans will give in this year or whether they will hold out through another—which will certainly be worse for them. There are those who take an over-sanguine view. Certainly we see all Europe rising under Hitler's tyranny. What is now happening in Denmark is only another example. Certainly we see the Germans hated as no race has ever been hated in human history, or with such good reason. We see them sprawled over a dozen once free and happy

countires, with their talons making festering wounds, the scars of which will never be effaced. Nazi tyranny and Prussian militarism, those two loathsome dominations, may well foresee and dread their approaching doom.

We cannot measure the full force of the blows which the Russian armies are striking and are going to strike. We cannot measure, though we know it is enormous, the havoc wrought in Germany by our bombing; nor the effects upon a population who have lived so long by making wars in the lands of others, and now, for the first time in more than a century, are having blasting and desolating war brought to their hearths and homes. We cannot yet measure what further results may attend the Anglo-American campaign in the Mediterranean, nor what depression the marked failure, for the time being of the U-boat warfare on which German hopes were set, or the consequences of the shattering blows which are being struck, may engender in the German mind.

We pass here into the sphere of mass psychology, never more potent than in this modern age. Yet I consider that there are dangers in allowing our minds to dwell unduly upon the favourable circumstances which surround us, and which are so vividly and effectively brought to our notice every day by Press and broadcast.

For myself, I regard all such speculation as to when the war will end as at this moment vain and unprofitable. We did not undertake this task because we had carefully counted the cost, or because we had carefully measured the duration. We took it on because duty and honour called us to it, and we are content to drive on until we have finished the job. If Almighty God in his mercy should lighten or shorten our labours and the torment of mankind, all his servants will be thankful. But the United Nations feel conscious, both as States and as hundreds of millions of individuals, of being called to a high duty, which they will unflinchingly and tirelessly discharge with whatever strength is granted to them, however long the ordeal may last.

See how those who stray from the true path are deceived and punished. Look at this wretched Mussolini and his son-in-law and accomplice Ciano, on whom the curse of Garibaldi has veritably fallen. I have heard that Ciano, explaining one day why Mussolini had plunged his dagger into the back of falling France and dreamed himself already among the Caesars, said that such a chance would not occur again in 5,000 years. Certainly in June, 1940, the odds and omens seemed very favourable to Fascist ambition and greed.

It is not given to the cleverest and the most calculating of mortals to know with certainty what is their interest. Yet it is given to quite a lot of simple folk to know every day what is their duty. That is the path along which the British Commonwealth and Empire, the great Republic of the United States, the vast Union of

Soviet Socialist Republics, the indomitable and innumerable people of China—all the United Nations—that is the path along which we shall march till our work is done and we may rest from our labours, and the whole world may turn with hope, with science, with good sense, and dear-bought experience, from war to lasting peace.

THE WOMEN OF BRITAIN¹¹⁴²

This impressive and representative gathering marks a definite recognition of the part which women are playing in our struggle for right and freedom. I remember in 1939, at Manchester, making an appeal for a million women to come forward into the war effort in all its forms. This was thought to be a very extravagant proposal at the time, but it is not a third of what has since been required and of what has been forthcoming.

We are engaged in total war. We are engaged in a struggle for life. Although you cannot say that the peril is as imminent as it was in 1940, during that year when we were all alone, nevertheless, if this war were so handled that the unity of national effort were diminished, that its pace and vigour were slackened, that we fell apart, that apathy overtook us, and if this were typical throughout the Forces of the United Nations, then indeed another set of dangers, not perhaps so catastrophic in their aspect, but none the less deadly in their character, would march upon us. The war would languish, our soldiers would find themselves short of munitions and services just at the time when they would need them most, just at the time when their action was growing to an ever larger scale.

And the enemy--what is their hope? Their hope is that we shall get wearied, that the democracies will faint and falter on the long road, and that now, in the fifth year of the war, there will be doubts, despondencies and slackness; and then they hope that out of this they will be able, consolidated in their central fortress of Europe or in their remote home islands of Japan, to extract from our weariness and from any divisions which might appear among us the means of making terms to enable them to repair their losses, to re-gather their forces, and to open upon the world in, it may be, a decade, another war, even more terrible than that through which we are passing. Therefore, the ideas of total war, of fighting for life, must be continually in your minds.

The war effort of our 46 millions living in Great Britain and Northern Ireland is at the present time justly admired by our Allies. Upon the whole, there is no community engaged in this war which is more smoothly, effectively, and exhaustively organised for war; there is no community which presents so many different sides and varieties of war effort.

We have to guard the seas; we have to bring in our food and materials; we have to guard our homes against the ever-present

¹¹⁴²ibid., p.283.

threat of overseas attacks; we have to be ready to meet intensive and novel forms of air attack at any time; we have to grow a far greater proportion of our own food than we ever did before; we have to carry on all our vast production of munitions; we have to build warships and merchant ships in large numbers; we have to maintain the life of our civilian population, and take care of the sick, the old and the broken. All this has to be done by this community, and I say that it is a spectacle of marvellous organisation which our country presents at the present time.

This war effort could not have been achieved if the women had not marched forward in millions and undertaken all kinds of tasks and work for which any other generation but our own—unless you go back to the Stone Age—would have considered them unfitted; work in the fields, heavy work in the foundries and in the shops, very refined work on radio and precision instruments, work in the hospitals, responsible clerical work of all kinds, work throughout the munitions factories, work in the mixed batteries—I take a special interest in those—most remarkable societies where there are more women than men, and where the weapons are handled with the utmost skill and proficiency. These mixed batteries have saved scores of thousands of strong men from static employment, and set them free for the field armies and the mobile batteries. Nothing has been grudging, and the bounds of women's activities have been definitely, vastly, and permanently enlarged.

It may seem strange that a great advance in the position of women in the world in industry, in controls of all kinds, should be made in time of war and not in time of peace. One would have thought that in the days of peace the progress of women to an ever larger share in the life and work and guidance of the community would have grown, and that, under the violence of war, it would be cast back. The reverse is true. War is the teacher, a hard, stern, efficient teacher. War has taught us to make these vast strides forward towards a far more complete equalisation of the parts to be played by men and women in society.

I said just now that the conditions in this island present an incomparable example, among the United Nations, of unified, concerted war effort. I cannot expect, after four years of war, that there is much slack to take up; but my friend Mr. Bevin, the Minister of Labour, has the greatest possible difficulty in providing for even the approved demands which are made upon him by all the Departments of the State. We are fully extended now, and what we have to do is to hold it, to maintain this effort, through the fifth year of the war, or the sixth if need be; for we will never stop until we have achieved our purpose.

In the forthcoming year you will see larger armies fighting, you will see more powerful air forces striking at the heart of the enemy's country; but the actual demands made upon the British

population cannot be greatly increased. The augmentation of munitions will follow from the smoother running of the great processes which are already at work, rather than from any multiplication of the human beings engaged in production. We are, as I say, full out, and to hold that and to maintain that is a tremendous task, and one that will require the utmost firmness of character in all His Majesty's subjects, and extreme care, diligence, and vigilance on the part of those who are entrusted with public office in any form. All will be needed in order that we may keep up the tremendous pace at which we are moving, for whatever time is necessary in order to secure the complete, the absolute victory of the good cause.

It is a good cause. No one has any doubt about that. All over the world men and women, under every sky and climate, of every race, creed and colour, all have the feeling that in the casting-down of this monstrous Nazi engine of tyranny, cruelty, greed and aggression—in the casting of it down shattered in pieces, something will have been achieved by the whole human race which will affect in a decisive manner its future destinies, and which will even in our own time be marked by very sensible improvement in the conditions under which the great masses of the people live.

Freedom will be erected on unshakable foundations, and at her side will be Right and Justice; and I am sure of this, that when the victory is gained we shall show a poise and temper as admirable as that which we displayed in the days of our mortal danger, that we shall not be led astray by false guides either into apathy and weakness or into brutality, but that the name of our dear country, our island home, will, by our conduct, by our clairvoyance, by our self-restraint, by our inflexible tenacity of purpose, long stand in honour amongst the nations of the world.

In all this the women of Britain have borne, are bearing, and will continue to bear, a part which excites admiration among our Allies, and will be found to have definitely altered those social and sex balances which years of convention had established.

I have no fear of the future. Let us go forward into its mysteries, let us tear aside the veils which hide it from our eyes, and let us move onward with confidence and courage. All the problems of the post-war world, some of which seem so baffling now, will be easier of solution once decisive victory has been gained, and once it is clear that victory won in arms has not been cast away by folly or by violence when the moment comes to lay the broad foundations of the future world order, and it is time to speak great words of peace and truth to all.

VICTORY BROADCAST 1143

It was five years ago on Thursday last that His Majesty the King commissioned me to form a National Government of all parties to carry on our affairs. Five years is a long time in human life, especially when there is no remission for good conduct. However, this National Government was sustained by Parliament and by the entire British nation at home and by all our fighting men abroad, and by the unswerving co-operation of the Dominions far across the oceans and of our Empire in every quarter of the globe. After various episodes had occurred it became clear last week that so far things have worked out pretty well, and that the British Commonwealth and Empire stands more united and more effectively powerful than at any time in its long romantic history. Certainly we are—this is what may well, I think, be admitted by any fair-minded person—in a far better state to cope with the problems and perils of the future than we were five years ago.

For a while our prime enemy, our mighty enemy, Germany, overran almost all Europe. France, who bore such a frightful strain in the last great war, was beaten to the ground and took some time to recover. The Low Countries, fighting to the best of their strength, were subjugated. Norway was overrun. Mussolini's Italy stabbed us in the back when we were, as he thought, at our last gasp. But for ourselves—our lot, I mean, the British Commonwealth and Empire—we were absolutely alone.

In July, August, and September 1940, forty or fifty squadrons of British fighter aircraft in the Battle of Britain broke the teeth of the German air fleet at odds of seven or eight to one. May I repeat again the words I used at that momentous hour: "Never in the field of human conflict was so much owed by so many to so few." The name of Air Chief Marshal Lord Dowding will always be linked with this splendid event. But conjoined with the Royal Air Force lay the Royal Navy, ever ready to tear to pieces the barges, gathered from the canals of Holland and Belgium, in which a German invading army could alone have been transported. I was never one to believe that the invasion of Britain, with the tackle that the enemy had at that time, was a very easy task to accomplish. With the autumn storms the immediate danger of invasion in 1940 passed.

Then began the Blitz, when Hitler said he would "rub out our cities." That's what he said, "rub out our cities." This Blitz was borne without a word of complaint or the slightest sign of flinching, while a very large number of people—honour to them all—proved that London could "take it," and so could our other ravaged centres.

But the dawn of 1941 revealed us still in jeopardy. The hostile aircraft could fly across the approaches to our Island, where forty-six millions of people had to import half their daily bread and all the materials they needed for peace or war. These hostile aircraft could fly across the approaches from Brest to Norway and back again in a single flight. They could observe all the movements of our shipping in and out of the Clyde and Mersey, and could direct upon our convoys the large and increasing numbers of U-boats with which the enemy bespattered the Atlantic—the survivors or successors of which U-boats are now being collected in British harbours.

The sense of envelopment, which might at any moment turn to strangulation, lay heavy upon us. We had only the Northwestern Approach between Ulster and Scotland through which to bring in the means of life and to send out the forces of war. Owing to the action of the Dublin Government, so much at variance with the temper and instinct of thousands of Southern Irishmen who hastened to the battle-front to prove their ancient valour, the approaches which the Southern Irish ports and airfields could so easily have guarded were closed by the hostile aircraft and U-boats. This was indeed a deadly moment in our life, and if it had not been for the loyalty and friendship of Northern Ireland we should have been forced to come to close quarters or perish for ever from the earth. However, with a restraint and poise to which I say, history will find few parallels, His Majesty's Government never laid a violent hand upon them, though at times it would have been quite easy and quite natural, and we left the Dublin Government to fiddle with the Germans and later with the Japanese representatives to their hearts' content.

When I think of these days I think also of other episodes and personalities. I think of Lieutenant-Commander Emonds, V.C., of Lance-Corporal Kennelly, V.C., and Captain Pegen, V.C., and other Irish heroes whose names I could easily recite, and then I must confess that bitterness by Britain against the Irish race dies in my heart. I can only pray that in years which I shall not see, the shame will be forgotten and the glories will endure, and that the peoples of the British Isles as of the British Commonwealth of Nations will walk together in mutual comprehension and forgiveness.

My friends, when our minds turn to the Northwestern Approaches we will not forget the devotion of our merchant seamen, and our mine-sweepers out every night, and so rarely mentioned in the headlines. Nor will we forget the vast, inventive, adaptive, all-embracing, and, in the end, all-controlling power of the Royal Navy, with its ever more potent new ally, the Air. These have kept the life-line open. We were able to breathe; we were able to live; we were able to strike. Dire deeds we had to do. We had to destroy or capture the French Fleet, which, had it ever passed undamaged into German hands, would, together with the Italian Fleet, have perhaps enabled the German Navy to face us on the high seas. This

we did. We had to make the dispatch to General Wavell all round the Cape, at our darkest hour, of the tanks--practically all we had in the Island--and this enabled us as far back as November 1940 to defend Egypt against invasion and hurl back with the loss of a quarter of a million captives and with heavy slaughter the Italian armies at whose tail Mussolini had already planned to ride into Cairo or Alexandria.

Great anxiety was felt by President Roosevelt, and indeed by thinking men throughout the United States, about what would happen to us in the early part of 1941. The President felt to the depths of his being that the destruction of Britain would not only be an event fearful in itself, but that it would expose to mortal danger the vast and as yet largely unarmed potentialities and the future destiny of the United States. He feared greatly that we should be invaded in that spring of 1941, and no doubt he had behind him military advice as good as any that is known in the world, and he sent his recent Presidential opponent, the late Mr. Wendell Willkie, to me with a letter in which he had written in his own hand the famous lines of Longfellow which I quoted in the House of Commons the other day.

We were, however, in a fairly tough condition by the early months of 1941, and felt very much better about ourselves than in those months immediately after the collapse of France. Our Dunkirk army and field force troops in Britain, almost a million strong, were nearly all equipped or re-equipped. We had ferried over the Atlantic a million rifles and a thousand cannon from the United States, with all their ammunition, since the previous June. In our munitions works, which were becoming very powerful, men and women had worked at their machines till they dropped senseless from fatigue. Nearly one million of men, growing to two millions at the peak, although working all day, had been formed into the Home Guard. They were armed at least with rifles, and armed also with the spirit "Conquer or die."

Later in 1941, when we were still alone, we sacrificed unwillingly, to some extent unwittingly, our conquests of the winter in Cyrenaica and Libya in order to stand by Greece; and Greece will never forget how much we gave, albeit unavailingly, of the little we had. We did this for honour. We repressed the German-instigated rising in Iraq. We defended Palestine. With the assistance of General de Gaulle's indomitable Free French we cleared Syria and the Lebanon of Vichyites and of German aviators and intriguers. And then in June 1941 another tremendous world event occurred.

You have no doubt noticed in your reading of British history--and I hope you will take pains to read it, for it is only from the past that one can judge the future, and it is only from reading the story of the British nation, of the British Empire, that you can feel

a well-grounded sense of pride to dwell in these islands—you have sometimes noticed in your reading of British history that we have had to hold out from time to time all alone, or to be the mainspring of coalitions, against a Continental tyrant or dictator, and we have had to hold out for quite a long time: against the Spanish Armada, against the might of Louis XIV, when we led Europe for nearly twenty-five years under William III and Marlborough, and a hundred and fifty years ago, when Nelson, Pitt, and Wellington broke Napoleon, not without assistance from the heroic Russians of 1812. In all these world wars our Island kept the lead of Europe or else held out alone.

And if you hold out alone long enough there always comes a time when the tyrant makes some ghastly mistake which alters the whole balance of the struggle. On June 22, 1941, Hitler, master as he thought himself of all Europe—nay, indeed, soon to be master of the world, so he thought—treacherously, without warning, without the slightest provocation, hurled himself on Russia and came face to face with Marshal Stalin and the numberless millions of the Russian people. And then at the end of the year Japan struck a felon blow at the United States at Pearl Harbour, and at the same time attacked us in Malaya and Singapore. Thereupon Hitler and Mussolini declared war on the Republic of the United States.

Years have passed since then. Indeed, every year seems to me almost a decade. But never since the United States entered the war have I had the slightest doubt that we should be saved, and that we only had to do our duty in order to win. We have played our part in all this process by which the evildoers have been overthrown—and I hope I do not speak vain or boastful words, but from Alamein in October 1942, through the Anglo-American invasion of North Africa, of Sicily, of Italy, with the capture of Rome, we marched many miles and never knew defeat. And then last year, after two years' patient preparation and marvellous devices of amphibious warfare—and mark you, our scientists are not surpassed in any nation in the world, especially when their thought is applied to naval matters—last year on June 6 we seized a carefully selected little toe of German-occupied France and poured millions in from this Island and from across the Atlantic, until the Seine, the Somme, and the Rhine all fell behind the advancing Anglo-American spearheads. France was liberated. She produced a fine army of gallant men to aid her own liberation. Germany lay open.

Now from the other side the mighty military achievements of the Russian people, always holding many more German troops on their front than we could do, rolled forward to meet us in the heart and centre of Germany. At the same time, in Italy, Field-Marshal Alexander's army of so many nations, the largest part of which was British or British Empire, struck their final blow and compelled more

than a million enemy troops to surrender. This Fifteenth Army Group, as we call it, British and Americans joined together in almost equal numbers, are now deep in Austria, joining their right hand with the Russians and their left with the United States armies of General Eisenhower's command. It happened, as you may remember—but memories are short—that in the space of three days we received the news of the unlamented departures of Mussolini and Hitler, and in three days also surrenders were made to Field-Marshal Alexander and Field-Marshal Montgomery of over two million five hundred thousand of this terrible warlike German Army.

I shall make it clear at this moment that we never failed to recognise the immense superiority of the power used by the United States in the rescue of France and the defeat of Germany. For our part, British and Canadians, we have had about one-third as many men over there as the Americans, but we have taken our full share of the fighting, as the scale of our losses shows. Our Navy has borne incomparably the heaviest burden in the Atlantic Ocean, in the narrow seas and the Arctic convoys to Russia, while the United States Navy has had to use its immense strength mainly against Japan. We made a fair division of the labour, and we can each report that our work is either done or going to be done. It is right and natural that we should extol the virtues and glorious services of our own most famous commanders, Alexander and Montgomery, neither of whom was ever defeated since they began together in Alamein. Both of them have conducted in Africa, in Italy, in Normandy, and in Germany battles of the first magnitude and of decisive consequence. At the same time we know how great is our debt to the combining and unifying command and high strategic direction of General Eisenhower.

And here is the moment when I pay my personal tribute to the British Chiefs of Staff, with whom I worked in the closest intimacy throughout these heavy, stormy years. There have been very few changes in this small, powerful, and capable body of men, who, sinking all Service differences and judging the problems of the war as a whole, have worked together in perfect harmony with each other. In Field-Marshal Brooke, in Admiral Pound, succeeded after his death by Admiral Andrew Cunningham, and in Marshal of the Air Portal, a team was formed who deserved the highest honour in the direction of the whole British war strategy and in its relations with that of our Allies.

It may well be said that our strategy was conducted so that the best combinations, the closest concert, were imparted into the operations by the combined Staffs of Britain and the United States, with whom, from Teheran onward, the war leaders of Russia were joined. And it may also be said that never have the forces of two nations fought side by side and intermingled in the lines of battle with so much unity, comradeship, and brotherhood as in the great Anglo-American Armies. Some people say, "Well, what would you expect,

if both nations speak the same language, have the same laws, have a great part of their history in common, and have very much the same outlook upon life, with all its hope and glory? Isn't it just the sort of thing that would happen?" And others may say, "It would be an ill day for all the world and for the pair of them if they did not go on working together and marching together and sailing together and flying together, whenever something has to be done for the sake of freedom and fair play all over the world. That is the great hope of the future."

There was one final danger from which the collapse of Germany has saved us. In London and the southeastern counties we have suffered for a year from various forms of flying bombs—perhaps you have heard about this—and rockets, and our Air Force and our ack-ack batteries have done wonders against them. In particular the Air Force, turned on in good time on what then seemed very slight and doubtful evidence, hampered and vastly delayed all German preparations. But it was only when our armies cleaned up the coast and overran all the points of discharge, and when the Americans captured vast stores of rockets of all kinds near Leipzig, which only the other day added to the information we had, and when all the preparations being made on the coasts of France and Holland could be examined in detail, in scientific detail, that we knew how grave had been the peril, not only from rockets and flying bombs, but from multiple long-range artillery which was being prepared against London. Only just in time did the Allied armies blast the viper in his nest. Otherwise the autumn of 1944, to say nothing of 1945, might well have seen London as shattered as Berlin.

For the same period the Germans had prepared a new U-boat fleet and novel tactics which, though we should have eventually destroyed them, might well have carried anti-U-boat warfare back to the high peak days of 1942. Therefore we must rejoice and give thanks, not only for our preservation when we were all alone, but for our timely deliverance from new suffering, new perils not easily to be measured.

I wish I could tell you tonight that all our toils and troubles were over. Then indeed I could end my five years' service happily, and if you thought that you had had enough of me and that I ought to be put out to grass I tell you I would take it with the best of grace. But, on the contrary, I must warn you, as I did when I began this five years' task—and no one knew then that it would last so long—that there is still a lot to do, and that you must be prepared for further efforts of mind and body and further sacrifices to great causes if you are not to fall back into the rut of inertia, the confusion of aim, and "the craven fear of being great." You must not weaken in any way in your alert and vigilant frame of mind. Though holiday rejoicing is necessary to the human spirit, yet it must add to the strength and resilience with which every man and woman turns again to the work they have to do, and also to the outlook and watch they have to keep on public affairs.

On the continent of Europe we have yet to make sure that the simple and honourable purposes for which we entered the war are not brushed aside or overlooked in the months following our success, and that the words "freedom," "democracy," and "liberation" are not distorted from their true meaning as we have understood them. There would be little use in punishing the Hitlerites for their crimes if law and justice did not rule, and if totalitarian or police Governments were to take the place of the German invaders. We seek nothing for ourselves. But we must make sure that those causes which we fought for find recognition at the peace table in facts as well as words, and above all we must labour that the World Organisation which the United Nations are creating at San Francisco does not become an idle name, does not become a shield for the strong and a mockery for the weak. It is the victors who must search their hearts in their glowing hours, and be worthy by their nobility of the immense forces that they wield.

We must never forget that beyond all lurks Japan, harassed and failing but still a people of a hundred millions, for whose warriors death has few terrors. I cannot tell you tonight how much time or what exertions will be required to compel the Japanese to make amends for their odious treachery and cruelty. We—like China, so long undaunted—have received horrible injuries from them ourselves, and we are bound by the ties of honour and fraternal loyalty to the United States to fight this great war at the other end of the world at their side without flagging or failing. We must remember that Australia and New Zealand and Canada were and are all directly menaced by this evil Power. They came to our aid in our dark times, and we must not leave unfinished any task which concerns their safety and their future. I told you hard things at the beginning of these last five years; you did not shrink, and I should be unworthy of your confidence and generosity if I did not still cry: Forward, unflinching, unswerving, indomitable, till the whole task is done and the whole world is safe and clean.